Vol. 3

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1624–1629

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, ETC.

BY

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'THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE GREAT MOGUL,' ETC.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1909

104110
11/7/10

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PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

PREFACE

The six years here dealt with were marked by several important events in the history of the Mogul Empire—the long rebellion of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān); the *coup d'état* of Mahābat Khān, which for a time reduced the Emperor to a cipher; the death of Prince Parwīz (October, 1626), followed a year later by the decease of Jahāngīr himself; the proclamation of Dāwar Bakhsh as his successor; the abortive attempt of Nūr Jahān's candidate, Prince Shahriyār, to secure the throne for himself; and finally the accession (February, 1628) of Khurram—henceforth the Emperor Shāh Jahān—which placed the reins of government once more in the grip of a strong man. Of many of the scenes in this drama the English merchants were interested spectators, and the historian will welcome the accounts given in the following pages of what they saw and heard.

During the same period the fortunes of the English in India fluctuated considerably; but on the whole their position was very much improved. In 1624 the Company's servants at Surat were imprisoned for some months, and were only released on humiliating conditions. By 1629, when we take leave of them, they had so far established themselves in the esteem and regard of the native merchants that they had been able to borrow from them about 100,000*l.* for the purpose of providing cargoes for England, and thus to carry on the trade when it was ready to fall, owing to the difficulties experienced by the home authorities in raising further capital.

A special feature of the present volume is the hindrance caused to British trade by the continued hostilities with the Portuguese in Eastern waters. Among the picturesque incidents of this warfare may be noted the three fierce conflicts in the Persian Gulf between an Anglo-Dutch fleet and the squadron of Alvarez Botelho: the romantic challenge which the latter commander nailed to the gates of Surat Castle, inviting the English and Dutch to come out of Swally Hole and fight him, ship for ship: the blowing up of the *Lion* by Ruy Freire's frigates at Gombroon: and the destruction of the Portuguese settlement at Bombay by the allies in October, 1626.

From the eastern side of India come several letters of great interest. The principal events of this period were the attempt to establish a factory in the Tanjūr country (1624): the foundation of a settlement at Armagon (1626): and the temporary abandonment of Masulipatam (1628), owing to disputes with the local officials.

The present instalment consists of 366 documents, all of which come from the India Office archives except two from the British Museum and five from the Public Record Office. Of the first-mentioned class 107 belong to the 'O.C.' (Original Correspondence) series: the rest are drawn mostly from the Marine Records and certain sections of the Factory Records.

The editor has to thank Professor J. F. Blumhardt, Professor T. W. Arnold, and other friends for assistance in transliterating Oriental names and explaining vernacular terms; also Mr. H. G. Bull for help in reading the proofs, and for compiling the index.

INTRODUCTION

The two outstanding events of the years covered by the last calendar were the capture of Ormus from the Portuguese by the English and the Persians in April, 1622, and the seizure of the Indian junks by the Surat factors in the autumn of 1623. Both of these acts of aggression had results that were little expected, and their influence was felt throughout the period which we have now to examine. The attack upon Ormus was perhaps unavoidable, unless our countrymen were prepared to relinquish all attempts to open up trade with Persia; but the commerce thus secured proved far less lucrative than was hoped, while the activity to which the Portuguese were stirred by the blow threatened grave consequences for English trade in those seas. Fortunately, the Dutch, who were equally bent on developing their trade with India and Persia, came to the rescue of their co-religionists; but even then the ships of the two nations were forced to keep together for mutual protection and to move only in strong fleets. They were fiercely attacked in the Persian Gulf and challenged at Swally itself. As we shall see, one English ship was destroyed with the greater part of her cargo, while her consorts were chased out of Indian waters; and for some time the trade with Europe was seriously interrupted.

The aggression upon the Indian junks trading with the Red Sea was less justifiable, and the punishment which followed had something of dramatic fitness. The possibility of retaliation by the Surat authorities had been borne in mind from the first, but apparently the President and Council deemed it wise to show no sign of apprehension. The *Blessing* and the *William* left for Persia in the middle of December, 1623; the *Dolphin* sailed for England on January 10, 1624; and the *Reformation* was sent to Achin and Batavia on the 27th of the same month. Thus, when the blow fell, there was not a single vessel in port to afford assistance or threaten reprisals.

Some of the details of the troubles that ensued are obscure, for (owing probably to the seizure of the factors' papers) scarcely any documents emanating from Surat at this period have been preserved; but the main features are not in doubt. We gather that the native merchants had opposed a passive resistance to the collection of the money exacted from them (p. 55), while strong representations were made at court regarding the conduct of the English, who were accused, amongst other things, of detaining goods seized in the junks 'above satisfaction of our former losses . . . to the pretended vallue of 10,000*l.* starling' (p. 18). Whether this was true or not, they had certainly been guilty of an affront to the Mogul power in seizing the native traders, and it must have been easy to stir up feeling at court against these daring foreigners. As a result, Jahāngīr issued farmāns 'to the aprehending of our persons, restitucion of our recoveries, and lastlie our expultion out of his countrie' (p. 56); and on February 21, 1624,[1] the English merchants at Surat were seized and put in irons, their dwelling and warehouses ransacked, and their goods confiscated; while threats of torture were used in the hope of extorting confession of hidden treasure. The order seems to have been a general one, and according to a statement on p. 36 the merchants at the other factories were treated in similar fashion. Young and Willoughby were on their way to court at the time and so escaped; and on their arrival, though their petitions were slighted, they do not appear to have suffered personal indignity. Seeing no chance of assistance from any direction, President Rastell and his companions in misery at last signified their readiness to make satisfaction for all that had been taken from the Surat merchants, on condition that the latter should accept payment in goods (pepper, madder, coral, &c.) at rates agreed upon. While these negotiations were going on, the *William* and *Blessing* arrived from Gombroon (March 12?), and their commanders, deeming rigorous measures advisable, attempted to seize three junks that were preparing to depart to Arabia. In this, however, they were foiled by the Hollanders, who, upon the application of the Surat authorities, hoisted Dutch colours on the junks and placed a few

[1] This date is given in a letter from Van den Broeck, the Dutch chief at Surat (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vi. no. 219). The news reached Goa on March 28 (N.S.); see *Della Valle* (Hakluyt Society's edition), vol. ii. p. 417.

men in each 'in the way of protection'. As persistence might produce complications, and as, moreover, it was learned that the junks had not much on board, the English captains and merchants contented themselves with protesting against the aid thus afforded by Van den Broeck to 'our enemies these people' (p. 7); and the junks sailed without further molestation.

A new trouble now came upon the unfortunate factors. Among the junks captured by Captain Hall on his way back from Mokha in 1623 was one belonging to Chaul, from which he took goods and money to a large amount (see previous volume, p. xxix) and then let her go. Certain Turks, whose property had thus been confiscated, now made their appearance in Surat and clamoured for justice, demanding 85,000 rials of eight as compensation. To Saif Khān, the Viceroy of Gujarāt, they promised half this sum if he would force the English to pay their demand; and Rastell, seeing no hope of escaping otherwise an adverse judgement, offered 70,000 mahmūdīs on the other side, stipulating at the same time that for this bribe Saif Khān should allow the indigo brought down to the port to be put on board the ships. The bribe was accepted, but the condition about the indigo was not observed; and on April 20, as they could not safely wait longer, the two vessels sailed away empty, the *William* for Batavia, and the *Blessing* for the coast of Arabia, leaving the factors still in prison. The captains carried with them instructions to return and seize the Surat junks again in the succeeding monsoon, if in the interim an agreement should not have been reached. Before long, however, Rastell succeeded in obtaining the release of himself and his fellow sufferers, though they were still kept under surveillance. In June Saif Khān delivered judgement against the Turks, referring them to Jahāngīr for redress, if redress were due. To court they accordingly journeyed, and besieged the Mogul and his ministers with clamours for justice; but the English had armed themselves with attestations from Saif Khān and the chief merchants of Surat, and they had the steady support of Āsaf Khān. The result was that the Turks were told that the Emperor could not interfere, as neither the complainants nor the defendants were subjects of his, and the act complained of had taken place outside his jurisdiction.

A final settlement of the differences between the English merchants

and the Surat authorities was not reached until September 7, 1624, when an agreement, modifying that of the previous year, was signed on both sides. The English were guaranteed unimpeded trade everywhere within the empire, except that the importation of coral was forbidden for one year; they were allowed to occupy the same factory as before, at a yearly rent; and they were to be protected from various petty oppressions, and freed from tolls at certain places named. On the other hand, the proposed composition for their custom dues was abandoned, as also the right to buy or build frigates in the country; the privileges of wearing arms and punishing their native servants were withdrawn; and it was agreed that in future no Englishman (not even the President) should repair on board the ships without the licence of the Governor of Surat. The reconciliation was sealed by a farmān from the Emperor, procured by Young and Willoughby at Lahore in October, which included a command for the restoration of any money that had been forced from the English as bribes. Under this clause they recovered 6,800 mahmūdīs which had been given to their jailors under threats of torture; but as regards the 70,000 mahmūdīs handed over to Saif Khān, they thought it prudent to leave matters as they were. In reporting these occurrences to the Company, the factors put the best face on the matter they could. The arrangement by which the coral was accepted by the natives in part payment still left, they said, a profit of from fifty to sixty per cent.; while against their failure to send home the *William* and *Blessing* they could set the sales made at Mokha and the amount realized by the capture of the Chaul junk. As regards the future, they professed their readiness, if their employers desired, to repeat the seizure of the junks and thus take 'a just revenge on these people'; but they let it clearly be seen that they thought a rupture inadvisable. It is noticeable that from this time forth they cultivated the most friendly relations with the native merchants and officials; and the departure of Rastell and resumption of the post of President by Kerridge must have contributed in no small degree to this improved state of affairs.

The *Blessing* and *William* returned to Surat some time in the month of September, 1624. The former had spent the rainy season at the island of Masīra, on the coast of Arabia, while the latter had been at Batavia. On October 7 the *Jonas*—the first of the

fleet from England—arrived with Kerridge, who had come out to India to fill once more the post of President, on a salary of 400*l.* per annum, with a promise of a gratuity of 300*l.* at the end of four years. Two or three days later the *Eagle* arrived, and was dispatched to look for the *Anne*, which, homeward bound from Batavia, had put into the Comoros in great distress, and had sailed thence for Surat four days before the *Jonas* reached those islands. On October 13 two pinnaces, the *Spy* and the *Scout*, reported themselves at Swally ; and five days later the *James* and the *Star*, the last two vessels of the fleet, arrived under the command of the admiral, Captain Weddell.

At Swally Weddell found four Dutch ships—the *Zuid Holland*, *Bantam*, *Maagd van Dort*, and *Wesp*—bound for Persia ; and as the Portuguese were reported to be in great force in the Gulf, it was agreed that the new English fleet should accompany them thither. By the Company's appointment (much against his own wishes) Kerridge, who had refrained for the present from dispossessing Rastell, was to proceed in person to Gombroon, to settle matters there and arrange for further concerted action with the Persians against the Portuguese. The two fleets sailed accordingly in the middle of November ; but hearing from the *Eagle*—which was returning unsuccessful from her search for the *Anne*—that a Portuguese squadron was bound for Swally, it was decided to return to that port to protect the *William* and *Blessing*, which were there lading for England. The Dutch refused to wait, and went on alone. After a week's delay all the English ships sailed in company. The *William* and *Blessing* went only a little way with their consorts, and then departed to cruise awhile in a safe latitude, and return to Swally when all danger from the Portuguese had passed ; the rest directed their course to Jask and Gombroon, reaching the latter place on December 28, 1624. Kerridge found that (as the factors had reported in the previous May) the Persians had erected a fort at Gombroon, largely out of materials brought from the ruined city of Ormus, and had strengthened the castle on the latter island ; but they were much harassed by the Portuguese frigates, which under the indefatigable Ruy Freire maintained a partial blockade of Ormus, burnt the native boats along the coast, and effectually prevented any trade except that of the English and the Dutch,

whose ships were too strong for them. The factors of the latter nation were pushing their trade energetically, and there was a fear that the Shāh would put Ormus into their hands in return for active assistance against the common enemy. The English Company had been induced to sanction, if necessary, an expedition against Muskat; and Kerridge, though personally he doubted the advisability of this (p. 37), thought it well to hold out hopes of such action to the Persians, lest otherwise he should drive them into the arms of the Hollanders. At that moment, however, the Shāh was chiefly bent on the capture of Basrā from the Turks, and his general urgently demanded the succour of the English; but this was resolutely refused, as the latter had no intentions of taking part in a war against the Grand Signor. A request was then preferred that the fleet should remain to protect the Gulf against the Portuguese, a plan to which the English were disposed to agree, provided that a reasonable contribution were made towards their expenses.

While negotiations on the latter point were still in progress, the expected Portuguese fleet came in sight (January 31). This consisted of six war galleons which had reached Goa from Portugal the previous year, and had there been strengthened by the addition of two more. It was commanded by Nuno Alvarez Botelho, a resolute and skilful leader, and was by far the most formidable squadron that had yet appeared in Persian waters. In the number of guns the English and Dutch had a slight superiority; but the Portuguese ships, being built expressly for war, were at once stouter and handier, while they were crowded with soldiers whom it was hoped to utilize for boarding. However, the allies were not a whit dismayed; and as soon as the enemy appeared they prepared to put to sea and encounter them. On second thoughts, as darkness was drawing near, they deferred action till the morning; and meanwhile they held a conference and agreed to stick to one another 'as close . . . as the sherts one our backs' (p. 81). Of the series of combats that followed, several full accounts will be found in the present volume (pp. 46–54, 81–86), and for a still more detailed one the reader may be referred to that written by John Taylor the Water-Poet.[1] Evidently there was no attempt at strategy or

[1] Published as a sixpenny pamphlet in March, 1627 (Arber's *Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers Company*, vol. iv. p. 137), and afterwards included in Taylor's

combined action, and for the most part the fighting resolved itself into a series of duels, ship against ship, often at very close quarters. In the action of February 1, Albert Becker, the Dutch commander, in his flagship, the *Zuid Holland*, was the first to get into action; but he was ably seconded by Weddell in the *James* and by Clevenger in the *Jonas*. Becker paid the penalty of his zeal with his life, for a cannon ball struck him full on the breast and killed him immediately. The allies were repeatedly baffled by want of wind—a drawback which was not so much felt by the Portuguese, who had plenty of small vessels to tow them into any required position or draw them out of range.[1] Moreover, one of the English ships (the *Eagle*) showed a strange reluctance to take any share in the fighting, while the Dutch *Wesp* imitated her bad example. Still, the rest hammered away at their opponents until night put an end to the engagement, which had so far resulted in no decisive gain to either side.

On the following day the wind was with the Portuguese, but they made no attempt to renew the fight. Next morning (February 3), however, the allies were able to make a fresh attack, and with Weddell leading in the *James* a fierce conflict took place. Ruy Freire had come up with three small vessels, and his and Botelho's dauntless behaviour greatly encouraged their men. In the artillery duel the Portuguese galleons suffered severely, and their loss in men was also considerable. The English had hoped much from a prize which had been fitted as a fireship, but she got separated from the rest of the fleet and was attacked by the Portuguese frigates, with the result that her crew were forced to abandon her, after setting her ablaze.[2] Thus left to drift, she

collected works (1630). Internal evidence shows that the writer had before him Weddell's own narrative (see p. 81). Annexed is an account of the burning of the *Lion* at Gombroon in November, 1625.

A brief description of the fights from the Dutch side will be found at p. 156 of the *Dagh Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, 1624–29; also in the *Hague Transcripts* at the India Office (series i. vol. viii. no. 244). For Portuguese accounts see Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 393, and the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the India Office (*Books of the Monsoons*; translations, vol. vi. and *Noticias da India*, vol. i).

[1] The Portuguese, however, ascribed their want of success to this same absence of wind, which might have enabled them to use their superior numbers to board their opponents' vessels.

[2] Minors (p. 54) blames John Johnson, the master of the *Eagle*, for failing to guard

nearly fired some of the English vessels. At night the two fleets separated; and next day the battered Portuguese ships took refuge behind a sandbank at Larak, whereupon the allies returned to Gombroon.

The Persian Governor was now more than ever anxious to detain the fleet for the protection of the coast; but the most that the English would say was that if he could prevail upon the Dutch to remain they would leave an equal number of their ships upon the same terms. The Dutch, however, intimated that they did not intend to stay on any consideration, and the English, deeming themselves unequal to the task of coping with the Portuguese galleons without assistance, decided to depart as well. They sailed accordingly on the 13th. On seeing them, the Portuguese put to sea also, keeping ahead of the allies till the following afternoon, when they waited for them (p. 54) and gave battle. After three hours' fighting night separated the combatants; and the Portuguese, having had decidedly the worst of the conflict, made their way to Muskat to refit, while the allies, who were short of ammunition, pursued their course to Swally without further molestation. We must not omit to notice that, owing to a confusion in their reading of the calendar (through 1624 having been a leap-year), Shrove Tuesday passed without the customary pancakes—much to the disgust of the sailors (p. 54).

Kerridge found the English factory without a head, for Rastell and James had sailed for England with the *Blessing* and *William* on February 15, 1625. He now (March 8) entered upon the office of President for the second time—a post which he held with great advantage to his employers for a period of three years longer. It was decided that the *James* and *Jonas*, with two smaller vessels, should proceed to Batavia, refit there, and return in the autumn to meet the incoming fleet from England, and guard them against Botelho's galleons. The *Star* was prepared for a return voyage to England, to carry thither a Persian ambassador, Naqd Alī Beg, who had embarked in Weddell's fleet at Gombroon. Further, the *Eagle* was told off for Achin; and the pinnace *Scout* was sent to

the fireship, and hints that he showed cowardice on this and other occasions. Weddell (p. 81) says much the same. Johnson was subsequently arraigned on this and other charges, but was let off with a reprimand (p. 68).

Socotra and the Comoros in search of the *Anne*. The *Scout* departed accordingly on March 27, and spent the season cruising in the Gulf of Aden (see Minors's interesting account on p. 69), trying vainly to reach Mokha, where, as they learned at Shuhair, the *Anne* then was. Meanwhile, on April 7 intelligence of the latter fact had reached Surat, and it had been determined that the *Jonas* should go to her assistance. Weddell sailed for Batavia with his reduced fleet on April 14, 1625, accompanied by the *Star* and the *Eagle*, and four Dutch ships. On May 5 the *Star* and two of the Hollanders[1] parted company for the Cape; and later on the *Eagle* left also for her destination.

Of events up-country at this time we have little knowledge. In April, 1625, we find the Surat factors uneasy at the news that the insurgent Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) had returned from Bengal, and was approaching Burhānpur (p. 78). On the arrival of Weddell's fleet in the previous autumn trade had been re-established at Broach, Ahmadābād, Agra, and the court (pp. 61, 62). In April John Bangham was dispatched to Cambay and Ahmadābād to sell certain jewels; and while at the latter place he received orders to proceed to Agra to replace Robert Young, who, being anxious to return to England, had already started for Surat, leaving Willoughby and Goodwin in charge of the factory. Hearing that the Emperor, who was then in Kashmīr, was expected shortly at Lahore, Bangham judged it advisable to go straight to that city, which was reached on August 29. Thence he wrote, a month later, that Sultān Bulāqī, son of the late Prince Khusrū, was in great favour with the Emperor; 'butt Assaff Ckaun still sways the kingdom, and is our greatest frend' (p. 95). Khurram was yet in rebellion, and there were rumours that he would take refuge in Persia (p. 96).

Mention has been made of the dispatch of the *Jonas* to Mokha to fetch away the *Anne*, which was reported to be leaky and too short of men to sail unaided. In this mission she succeeded, but she was forced by the Governor of Mokha to leave some merchants and a quantity of goods behind, the idea being apparently that the existence of a factory would prevent any further interference with

[1] They had on board a second Persian ambassador (Mūsā Beg), whom Shāh Abbās had dispatched on a mission to Prince Maurice and the States-General.

vessels trading to that port.[1] While returning the two vessels were overtaken by the *Scout*, whose ineffectual endeavours to get into the Red Sea have already been mentioned. Swally was reached on September 19, 1625, and three days later a Dutch squadron of three vessels arrived from Holland.

At the beginning of the next month a startling event happened. Botelho had set out from Muskat with his galleons to intercept the incoming English fleet on the coast of India. One of his vessels was wrecked near Sanjān, another at Bombay; but with the remaining four he boldly appeared off Swally, and challenged the English and Dutch to a contest.[2] The allies, however, were not strong enough to risk an engagement; and even when Botelho, after waiting some days, departed, the Dutch alleged that probably this was a stratagem to decoy them within reach of a more powerful force, and refused to follow him up. Soon after news came, first that three European ships had been seen off the coast, and then that an engagement had taken place between them and the Portuguese squadron. Kerridge's importunity now prevailed on the Dutch to put to sea, accompanied by the *Jonas*, *Anne*, and *Scout*. They failed to find any trace of either of the combatants; and on October 23 they returned to Swally in company with Weddell, whom they had met ten days earlier coming back from Batavia with the *James* and the *Spy*. On the 27th, three Dutch ships from the same place entered Swally Hole, bringing intelligence that the Portuguese galleons were riding about Bassein, 'tottered and torne' after their conflict with the three strangers; and, as all the English and Dutch ships known to be in the Indian seas were now accounted for, it became evident that the fleet attacked by Botelho was the one expected from England. No tidings could be gleaned of its fate, and the greatest anxiety prevailed at Surat. A proposal was made that the *James*, *Jonas*, and *Anne* should be sent at once to Gombroon, on the supposition that the new-comers had sought refuge there; but the *Anne* was pronounced unfit to venture to sea in her present condition, while the *Jonas* also needed repair; and so the pinnace *Spy* was dispatched instead to Jask to find out whether

[1] See the interesting narrative by William Knightley printed on p. 347.

[2] For a copy of his challenge see vol. i. of the *Noticias da India* in the *Lisbon Transcripts*. It was nailed by a Portuguese emissary on the gates of Surat Castle, that all might take notice of Botelho's defiance of his adversaries (*ibid.*).

the surmise was true, and if so, to send word to the ships at Gombroon to await the arrival of an Anglo-Dutch fleet before venturing to Surat.

What had really happened was this. The fleet from England consisted of four ships, the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *Lion*, and *Falcon*, all under Captain Blyth. The *Falcon* lost company at the beginning of September, 1625, and about November 19 reached Swally without molestation, except from some small Portuguese vessels. The other three on October 7, 1625, fell in with Botelho's squadron off the Indian coast. A consultation was held, at which it was agreed that the only safe course was to make for Gombroon. A running fight ensued, during which the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* made good their retreat. The *Lion*, however, being slow of sail, was grappled by one of the enemy's ships. The Portuguese boarded her and soon gained possession of the upper deck, but could penetrate no further into the ship. The English fought with desperate valour till sunset; and then, the master, Richard Swanley, having been killed, a proposal was made to blow up the vessel rather than surrender. At this crisis it occurred to some one to let down the anchor. This brought up the drifting ship with so sudden a jerk that the ropes by which the enemy's vessel were made fast to the *Lion* snapped, and the swiftly running tide carried away the former into the darkness, leaving fifty or sixty of its crew still on the poop of the English ship. Powder barrels were rapidly fetched and placed under that part of the deck, and a few moments later a terrific explosion sent the Portuguese into the air. Henry Crosby, the mate, was now elected commander; sail was hoisted on the mangled vessel, and with a fair wind she stood away for Gombroon, which was reached without further incident on November 4.[1] Part of her cargo was put on shore, and then it was decided that, as the Portuguese frigates were hovering near, she should take shelter under Ormus Castle. Ruy Freire, however, had no mind to be baulked of his prey; and ere the *Lion* could reach her place of refuge, she was attacked by his whole force and set ablaze. She

[1] This account is taken chiefly from the spirited narrative by John Taylor referred to on p. xi, corrected to some extent by a Portuguese version among the *Lisbon Transcripts*. The *Lion* was built for the Company in 1614, and her first employment was to take out to India Sir Thomas Roe. The present was her fourth voyage.

was burnt to the water's edge, and her crew fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who ruthlessly put all but one of them to death.

The joint Anglo-Dutch fleet for Persia sailed on November 24, 1625. Weddell had under his command the *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, and *Falcon*, while the Dutch ships numbered six. With them departed the pinnace *Scout*, which was to carry letters to be left at the Comoro Islands for the fleet of the following year, and was then to proceed homewards to inform the Company of the defeat and dispersal of Blyth's fleet. On his way, Weddell met the *Spy*, returning from Jask, where all that she had been able to glean was a rumour of English ships having arrived at Gombroon. The latter place was reached on December 18, without anything having been seen of Botelho's squadron, which was, in fact, lying in 'a hole called Bombayee' (p. 112), awaiting reinforcements. At Gombroon the English learned, of course, the unhappy fate of the *Lion*, but nothing had been heard of Blyth's other two ships, which had in reality fled back to the Comoros. Weddell sailed again at the beginning of the new year, and arrived at Swally on January 29, 1626. As there were now in that port fourteen English and Dutch vessels in all, a proposal was mooted for a vigorous attempt to find and destroy Botelho's squadron; but after some discussion news came that the Portuguese had departed, and thereupon the design was abandoned (pp. 117, 137, and a letter from Surat in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 242).

It was next decided to send home the *James* and *Jonas*, under the command of Weddell; also to dispatch the *Anne* to Batavia and the *Falcon* to Masulipatam. The *Spy* was to go on a special mission to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, to meet the fleet expected from England, and give intelligence of a rendezvous agreed upon by the Dutch and English, at which all their ships from Europe were to meet and proceed in company to Surat. The five vessels sailed together on March 31, accompanied by ten Dutch ships, three of which were bound for Batavia, while the remainder, under Herman van Speult, were destined for the Red Sea. Nothing was seen of the Portuguese fleet, and the ships separated in due course for their several destinations.[1] Joseph Hopkinson and

[1] The *Spy* left letters at St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar), and then stood over to the Comoros; but nothing more was ever heard of her.

Nathaniel West went to Mokha on board one of the Dutch ships. The English factors there were found to be in a fair state of prosperity, but the authorities would not permit their departure, being still anxious to keep them as hostages against the capture of Indian traders.

Of up-country affairs during 1626 we have little information. The factory at Ahmadābād was closed shortly before the dispatch of the *James* and *Jonas*, and that at Broach soon after (p. 150). The factors from the latter place were sent to Burhānpur to sell some goods. John Bangham, who was at Lahore in attendance upon the Emperor, was also ordered to finish his business there and make his way down to Agra; but before the orders arrived Jahāngīr, and Bangham with him, quitted that city and set out for Kābul, whence the English merchant writes in May, 1626. We know that there were several factors in Agra at this time, with Justinian Offley at their head; and Tottle is found at Samāna in the latter part of the year busily engaged in buying calicoes.

On p. 151 will be found an interesting account of the seizure of the Emperor by Mahābat Khān in March, 1626, and the attempts made to rescue him. John Bangham, it appears, was actually on the scene; but unfortunately his letters to Surat at this time are missing, and we have only the summary which the factors there transmitted to England. So far as it goes, it confirms in the main the account given by Mutamad Khān (Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. p. 420). The stream of intrigue at court had settled down into two main currents, with much secret friction, of which little or no sign appeared on the surface. The Begam Nūr Jahān was bent upon securing the succession for Prince Shahriyār, the Emperor's youngest son, who had married her daughter by her previous husband. On the other hand, Āsaf Khān, the Begam's brother, whose influence with Jahāngīr was considerable, was secretly acting in the interests of the rebel Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), who was his son-in-law. Other possible candidates were Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr's second son, now commanding the army in the Deccan, and Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh), the child of the murdered Prince Khusrū. The Emperor himself seems to have maintained at this time an attitude of reserve; and his apparent leaning towards the claims of Bulāqī may have been due to a desire to avoid committing himself to the schemes of

either Nūr Jahān or her brother. Among the nobles, the most influential was Mahābat Khān, who had recently brought to a successful issue the operations against Shāh Jahān. He and Āsaf Khān were old antagonists; while he was by no means friendly disposed towards the Queen and her designs. Of all the claimants for the throne he was most likely to favour Parwīz, with whom he had been associated in the Deccan campaign ; and as his support of that prince might be a formidable obstacle to the accomplishment of their plans, both Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān were anxious to bring about his downfall. Jahāngīr was therefore induced to summon Mahābat Khān to court to answer certain charges made against him in connexion with his administration of Bengal. This summons the old warrior obeyed ; but he took the precaution of bringing with him a large body of Rājpūt troops, upon whose bravery and devotion he could rely. On his approach thus attended, a peremptory message was sent, forbidding him to present himself before the Emperor until he was called for ; and at the same time his new son-in-law (on the pretext that he had neglected to obtain Jahāngīr's permission before contracting the alliance) was brutally treated and committed to prison. Convinced that his ruin was determined upon, Mahābat Khān determined to strike a vigorous blow. The royal camp was pitched on the river Behat (Jehlam) ; and while Āsaf Khān and the bulk of the royal troops were on the one side, the Emperor himself, with Nūr Jahān and his personal attendants, was on the other. Early one morning, Mahābat Khān seized the bridge of boats connecting the two portions of the camp ; after which he proceeded with a small body of Rājpūts to the royal apartments and secured the person of the Emperor, treating him however, with all due respect and consideration. In the confusion Nūr Jahān escaped to her brother's camp, and was soon engaged in animating the nobles there to attempt the rescue of the captive monarch ; but this was by no means an easy task, for the bridge had been destroyed, and the river was both swift and deep, with steep banks that gave every advantage to the defenders. Nevertheless, next morning the passage was essayed, with disastrous results. The ford by which the larger part of the army sought to cross was full of holes, and its difficulties caused a confusion which, under the fire of Mahābat Khān's troops, quickly degenerated into a panic-

stricken retreat. Āsaf Khān headed the fugitives, and did not stop till he was safe in the castle of Attock. Recognizing that all was lost, at least for the present, Nūr Jahān, who had shown conspicuous bravery and coolness in the fight, made her peace with Mahābat Khān and joined her husband in his camp.

The imperial journey towards Kābul was now resumed; and at Attock Mahābat Khān had the satisfaction of adding Āsaf Khān to the number of his virtual captives. He was now indisputably master of the situation; and for some months he practically ruled the Mogul empire. However, as the year wore on, his power was gradually undermined by Nūr Jahān and her adherents. Some of his best troops were slain in an outbreak at Kābul; and gradually the royal party became so strong that Jahāngīr was able, under the Queen's guidance, to free himself from tutelage. Mahābat Khān was suddenly ordered to go on with his troops ahead of the imperial army; and after a little hesitation he obeyed. This was followed by a command to proceed towards Tatta, in Sind, in pursuit of Khurram, who had repaired thither with the idea of escaping to Persia. In order to secure his own safety, Mahābat Khān had carried with him Āsaf Khān; but, finding himself on the losing side, and overawed by the threats of Nūr Jahān, he released his prisoner, after a hollow reconciliation had taken place between them. He now marched towards the south, followed at a short distance by a body of royal troops (p. 204). Soon the news arrived that Khurram had failed in his attempt upon Tatta, and was retreating to the Deccan by way of Gujarāt. Mahābat Khān thereupon turned aside into Rājpūtāna to await the course of events.

Khurram's decision to remain in India had been largely prompted by the intelligence that his brother Parwīz had died at Burhānpur (October 17, 1626). This removed his most formidable competitor, for the other two were mere youths. For the present, however, he deemed it safest to keep outside his father's dominions. On his way to the Deccan he passed near Surat, where his propinquity excited for the moment no little alarm (pp. 161, 162).

The 1626 fleet from England, consisting of four ships, the *Discovery*, *William*, *Blessing*, and *Morris*, under the command of

Captain Christopher Brown, picked up the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* at the Comoros in August, and a month later effected a junction with the Dutch fleet (reduced to six vessels by the wreck of the *Goede Fortuin* near Socotra) returning from the Red Sea. After waiting at the appointed rendezvous for three days, the voyage was resumed, and Swally was reached early in October, 1626.

The proposal for an attack on Botelho's squadron, which was supposed to have returned to Bombay, was now revived, in view of the expected arrival of Dutch and English ships from Europe and Batavia. As a result, a strong fleet, consisting of six Hollanders and six English vessels, sailed on October 8. The accounts of the cruise given in the present volume[1] will be found of special interest, as narrating in detail the first English visit to the site of the future capital of Western India. Shortly after leaving Swally two Dutch ships from Batavia were met and added to the fleet. Bombay was reached a few days later, but no sign was found of the enemy's fleet, which had departed for Diu. Next day the small castle and town which the Portuguese had built on the island were bombarded. The garrison was quickly driven out; and a landing party pillaged and burnt the settlement. On the 16th the fleet sailed out of the bay and made for Swally, picking up on the way the *Christopher* from England.[2]

[1] See pp. 142-4, 155, 197, 216. The extracts from the ships' logs were printed in the 1890 and 1891 editions of Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, and have since been more than once reproduced; but the place of the cruise in the general operations against the Portuguese has not before been explained, nor have the subsidiary accounts in letters, &c., been published hitherto.

A Dutch account of the attack on Bombay will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 263, but it adds nothing to the narrative. For the Portuguese side see Faria y Sousa (*Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 401). He says that a Dutch captain entered the church of Our Lady of Hope, and hewed in pieces a crucifix which he found there; and that Botelho, when he heard of this, begged for one of the fragments, vowing to wear it until the insult was avenged. The historian notes that the Dutchman was slain soon after in a fight with Ruy Freire's squadron, and that Botelho met his death in combat with a Dutch ship.

[2] An interesting memento of the expedition, in the shape of a sketch-map of Bombay harbour, drawn by David Davis, a master's mate on board the *Discovery* (see p. 143), is reproduced as the frontispiece to the present volume. The following is a transcript of the appended explanation of the references:—'The letters BB is the bay; T is the towne; Ry is the 3 rivers. The Ro. [Road] is ij rockes, one boath sides. Wher the stime [stem] of the anckors [is], we roade befor the greate howse without the stakes. Wher the wood [is] is the island. The higher great piramides is a castell, as we thinke, up in the land.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Company had actually suggested to their servants at Surat the advisability of establishing a fortified settlement at Bombay or at some other suitable spot. The idea of fortification was at that time very much in the air; and, as we shall see presently, the English merchants at Batavia and on the Coromandel Coast had already tried the experiment at Lagundy and Armagon. Moreover, recent events had shown how advantageous it would be to have some port where vessels would be absolutely safe from Portuguese attacks. Who it was that suggested Bombay to the Company as a suitable spot we cannot tell; but it may have been (see p. 213) a certain Jeronimo de Paiva, a converted Portuguese Jesuit whom Rastell had brought home in the *William* in 1625. However, nothing practical resulted. Kerridge and his colleagues replied in November, 1626 (p. 159) that 'Bombayee . . . is noe ill ayre, but a pleasant, friutfull soile and excellent harbor'; they, however, deemed the idea of settling there an impracticable one, seeing that the place was so exposed to Portuguese depredations. They added an interesting piece of history, namely, that after the recent raid they had invited the Dutch to join them in establishing forts there, but had received an unsympathetic reply. The advisability of fortifying the entrance to Bombay harbour, in order to prevent the Dutch and English from entering, was being considered on the Portuguese side also. Writing to the Viceroy in February, 1627, King Philip repeated the advice he had given a year before that some fortification of the kind should be erected; and three years later he gave orders for an inquiry into the possibility of this being done (*Lisbon Transcripts*). The Viceroy accordingly sent three commissioners to examine the entrance, but they reported that the project was not feasible (*Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iii. pp. 259, 260).

The Company having decided 'to prosecute the Persian trade', and the Dutch intending to go again to Gombroon, six English ships—the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *William*, *Blessing*, *Discovery*, and

The letter C by the great tree is a hermitadg. The letter M is a monasteri, and the littell towne of cittjohn [*kajan* or palm-leaf] howses betwix it and the wood. Wher the letter F [is] ther weare a dozen friketts riding. The letter N over Bassine is a nunery.'

A valuable note on this sketch, with identifications by Sir Henry Morland and Sir James Campbell, will be found at p. 39 of vol. i of *Bombay and Western India*, by James Douglas (1893).

Morris, under Captains Blyth and Brown—were made ready to accompany them, and to carry to his post William Burt, who had been sent out by the Company to take charge of their business in Persia. The two fleets sailed in the middle of December, and returned on March 9, 1627, without having seen anything of the Portuguese galleons. The remaining vessel, the *Christopher*, was dispatched to Batavia at the same time as the Persian fleet. On the last day of March the same six ships that had been sent to Persia left Swally for 'the southwards'. The *Morris* parted company a fortnight later, bound for Masulipatam; while the rest went on to Batavia, which was reached on May 28. After a stay of three weeks they set out again, with the addition of the *Exchange*, for the purpose of intercepting the Portuguese carracks and of escorting to Surat the ships from England. After spending some time at Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, and finding no sign of the expected vessels, it was decided to proceed to India, and they returned to Swally at the beginning of October, 1627. The fleet for which they had been waiting, consisting of three ships (the *Mary*, *Hart*, and *Star*) and two pinnaces (the *Hopewell* and the *Refuge*), under the command of Captain Hall, did not arrive till the end of the following month. A third pinnace, the *Scout*, had lost company after passing the Cape, and it was not till some considerable time after that her fate was known. She was forced into Aden by want of water and provisions, and was there seized and her crew made prisoners.

Captain Hall's fleet had brought out, as passengers for Persia, no less than three ambassadors. One of these was Naqd Alī Beg, the Persian who (as already mentioned) had proceeded to England in 1625. A second was the celebrated Sir Robert Sherley, who had come to Europe some years earlier with a roving mission to the Christian monarchs, and had presented himself at the English court in January, 1624, as ambassador from Shāh Abbās. The appearance of the native envoy was extremely awkward for Sherley, especially as Naqd Alī, upon their meeting, not only declared that the Englishman's credentials were forged, but followed this up by violently assaulting him. King Charles, unable to decide between the two, determined to send them both back to his Persian brother, accompanied by an envoy of his own, in the person of Sir Dodmore

Cotton. The East India Company had been ordered to find accommodation for the trio in their 1626 fleet, but the ambassadors arrived too late to embark, and had therefore to wait another year. Another passenger of note was Thomas Herbert, a cadet of the family of the Earl of Pembroke, who had obtained for him a position in Cotton's suite. To his vivacious narrative we are indebted for many interesting particulars.[1] The day before the fleet arrived Naqd Alī Beg reduced the plethora of ambassadors by poisoning himself, actuated thereto (if we may credit Herbert) by a fear of his royal master's displeasure. To convey the other two to their destination, the *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star* set sail on December 18. Gombroon was reached on January 6, 1628; the ambassadors were landed; and after a month's stay the fleet returned to Swally by February 24.

We must now survey the course of events during 1627 in India itself. At the beginning of the year John Bangham was still in attendance upon the Emperor; but on February 6 the President and Council wrote directing him to wind up his business at court and proceed to Agra, where the factors had recently purchased the house in which they were living (p. 174). Offley, the chief at the latter place, had incurred the displeasure of his superiors, and it was decided to send Gregory Clement[2] thither to supersede him

[1] Herbert accompanied Cotton and Sherley to Persia, and was present at their reception by Shāh Abbās at Ashraf on May 25, 1628. On the return journey both of them died at Kazvin in July, within a fortnight of each other. Herbert embarked at Gombroon in Swanley's fleet early in 1629, and reached Swally in March. Thence in April his ship (the *Hart*) sailed for England, where she arrived in January, 1630. His account of his travels was first published in 1634; but four years later he issued a fresh edition, in which he had much enlarged (though scarcely improved) his narrative by incorporating a mass of materials from De Laet (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, Leyden, 1631) and other writers. The book became popular, and has been several times reprinted.

Herbert's later life is fairly well known. Though he took the side of the Parliament in the Civil War, he acted as Groom of the Bedchamber to the captive King, and was with him on the scaffold. In recognition of these services he was made a baronet at the Restoration. He lived till 1682.

[2] Gregory Clement, by reason of his subsequent notoriety, has found a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but nothing is there said of his connexion with India, which evidently laid the foundation of his fortune. It may be well, therefore, to note that he was engaged by the Company for seven years on Dec. 10, 1623 (having previously been servant to Mr. Hewkely), and proceeded to Surat the following year in the *Star*. His employments there and at other factories are described in the present volume. He appears to have gone home with Wylde in 1630, and to have been badly received by the

(p. 170). Meanwhile Tottle had finished his investments at Samāna, and in February was likewise on his way to Agra. Caravans with the goods that ad been collected were sent down to Surat under the charge of various factors, and Offley remained behind alone. On April 18, 1627, he died, and was buried by the Dutch there resident. On the news reaching head quarters, Clement and two other factors were hurried to Agra, where they arrived on June 15, and found at the English house Bangham and Goodwin, 'newly come from Lahore' (p. 196). Clement now assumed charge of the factory, with Bangham as his assistant.

During 1627 and the early part of 1628 we have several interesting references to public affairs. Thus in February, 1627, a Surat letter (p. 171) mentions that Mahābat Khān, who had remained in disgrace from the time when Jahāngīr recovered his freedom, was then at Jālor living 'very peaceably', but corresponding secretly with the exiled Prince Khurram, whom later on he joined in the Deccan (p. 204). Towards the end of October, 1627, Jahāngīr died while on his way back from Kashmīr, and the contest for the crown at once commenced. Shahriyār proclaimed himself Emperor at Lahore and distributed money lavishly in the hope of securing his position. Āsaf Khān had dispatched a swift runner to Khurram, to urge him to march northwards and claim the throne; but as some time must necessarily elapse before the Prince could appear upon the scene, Āsaf Khān and the nobles who were acting with him decided to put forward Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh) for the time being.[1] He was accordingly proclaimed Emperor in due form; and, accompanied by a large army, he and Āsaf Khān marched to encounter Shahriyār's forces. These were easily dispersed, and their un-

Company, who were incensed at his active participation in private trade. This probably accounts for his non-return to India. During the Civil War he was a strong partisan of the Commonwealth, became member for Camelford in 1647, and signed the death-warrant of the King. At the Restoration he was exempted from the amnesty, and went into hiding, but was arrested, tried, and executed on October 16, 1660. According to Ludlow he would have escaped, had not his deep voice been recognized by a blind man who was present at his examination. The diarist adds that Clement 'had no good elocution, but his apprehension and judgement were not to be despised'. A portrait of him will be found in Caulfield's *High Court of Justice* (1820).

[1] According to a statement on p. 233, Jahāngīr had made Āsaf Khān and the rest swear to see Bulāqī crowned. Herbert (ed. 1638, p. 105) has the same story, which he probably heard at Surat; but I have not been able to discover any confirmation of it.

fortunate leader was captured, blinded, and committed to close custody. Nūr Jahān had from the first been kept under surveillance by her brother, and thenceforward her power, once so great, was at an end. On the surface it seemed as though Dāwar Bakhsh was firmly seated on his grandfather's throne; but the shrewd Englishmen at Surat wrote that 'in liklyhood itt doth appeare all is reserved for Charoom . . . whom the souldiers in generall doe love, and whose best age, warlike disposicion, travaile, and experience in the highest and dejected fortunes hath made him fittest for the rule and government of so many nacions and spatious countryes' (p. 207). And so it proved.

A rumour of Jahāngīr's death reached Surat on November 19, and two days later the news was publicly announced (p. 202). Thereupon the Governor, responding to the general sentiment of the inhabitants, declared for the succession of Khurram; and although on November 29 (p. 203) he was seized in the castle by an adherent of Saif Khān (the Prince's old opponent, now Viceroy of Gujarāt), the captor himself decided to espouse the cause of Khurram, and thereupon proclaimed him. This—and the hope of replenishing his coffers—drew the Prince towards Surat. The news of his approach reached Kerridge at Swally on December 2 and he hurried back to the city, and thence, in company with a deputation of the principal native merchants, to the Prince's camp, which had been pitched seven miles away. The Dutch likewise hastened to welcome the future monarch, and to propitiate him with a present. Khurram gave his visitors a gracious reception; and then, his treasurer having secured the necessary loans, he set out next morning for Broach, whither the English followed to deliver him a present. This procured them two further interviews, and the issue of a farmān for the redress of their grievances.

Avoiding Broach, which was held by a servant of Khān Jahān, the Prince made his way to Ahmadābād, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and saluted as Emperor. Saif Khān, who was very ill, submitted and was pardoned, but dismissed from his post, Nāhir Khān being installed in his place. Towards the end of December the Prince started for Agra, while the newly-appointed officials showed their zeal by wringing money for his service out of the unfortunate merchants of Ahmadābād (pp. 189, 191).

Early in January, 1628, the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery* were dispatched to England. By them was sent a lengthy letter which contains much interesting information. As regards their relations with the natives, the President and Council wrote: 'our faire correspondence with this country people is continued by all the meanes we can; and our living amongst them is with greater peace and amity then ever itt was before the breach' (p. 192). Further on, they state that 'the last great breach twixt these inhabitants and your servants induced our uttmost indeavour to regaine their affeccions, according to your order; which by often visitings, presents, and invitacions we have obtained in an unwonted measure' (p. 211). A convincing proof of the excellent terms on which they stood is mentioned, viz. that the Surat merchants had allowed the factory to run into their debt to the extent of over 38,000*l.* sterling. An account is given of a dispute between the Governors of Surat and Olpād regarding the customs paid by the English, the latter official claiming the money on the ground that the port of Swally was in his district, while the former maintained that the duties should be paid (as heretofore) at Surat. By the mediation of the Governor of Cambay, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to court, and that in the meantime the English should pay neither party. Other points to be noted are the description given of Bombay (p. 197), and the remarks on the coffee trade (p. 213) and on the popularity in India of English twenty-shilling pieces (*ibid.*).

Immediately after the departure of the fleet, Captain Hall in the *Mary*, attended by the *Hopewell*, was sent to Damān, to capture a Portuguese ship which was understood to be lying there; but they returned a week later with their object unaccomplished. On January 24 the same two ships, reinforced by the *Refuge*, and accompanied by the *Blessing*, which was bound for Batavia, set sail again. Three days later the *Blessing* parted company, and next morning the remaining three anchored off Dābhol. Their object was to see whether trade could be opened up there; but in this they were disappointed, as the inhabitants had been pledged by the Portuguese to have no dealings with the English (p. 219). The ships then went on to examine Danda-Rājpurī and Bombay for the purpose of ascertaining their suitability for the proposed fortifi-

cation, on which the Company were still somewhat bent. At the former place they found the castle on the island of Janjīrā in rebellion, and they waited some time in the hope that the Governor would place it in their hands. This hope proving vain (p. 243), they proceeded to Bombay, where they stood into the harbour and were fired at from the castle, which had evidently been rebuilt. After examining and sounding the bay, Hall steered out again and returned to Swally on February 21. The fleet from Persia appeared in sight three days later.

As the Surat Council had now more ships than they could profitably employ in trade, they decided to send Hall on a fresh voyage of discovery along the western coast of India. In point of fact, Kerridge and his colleagues were still inclined to be sceptical as to the advisability of fortifying a harbour, either there or at 'The London's Hope' (in Arabia), which was an alternative suggestion (pp. 159, 197, 216); but it was desirable to satisfy the Company that the matter had been thoroughly investigated. The squadron for this purpose consisted of the *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*, and *Hopewell*, and their instructions were to examine and 'againe to range the coast' (p. 250), after which they were to proceed to the Comoros and Madagascar, for the purpose of intercepting Portuguese shipping and meeting the next fleet from England. The *Refuge* was to sail with them part of the way, and then to go on to Bantam to fetch the stores sent out from England for the settlement at Lagundy; as that project had failed, these stores would be no longer needed by the Southern Presidency, while, should Hall succeed in discovering a suitable place for fortification on the Indian seaboard, they would be extremely serviceable for that purpose. Just before the ships departed, a Portuguese came on board offering intelligence concerning his fellow countrymen's forces and shipping, particularly as regards Bombay. Suspicions being aroused that he was a spy, he was put to the torture, under stress of which he told a very improbable story of a Portuguese plot to inveigle the English into the castle at Bombay, which was to be blown up with gunpowder, while an attack was to be made upon the ships at the same time (pp. 249, 262).

The fleet sailed on March 12, 1628, and proceeded in the first instance to Danda-Rājpurī, where another attempt was made to

persuade the insurgent Governor to surrender the fort on Janjīrā Island (p. 252). As 'by noe meanes he would not be seduced to deliver up the castle', the advisability of endeavouring to storm it was considered; but on hearing the account given of the fortifications by 'two land soldiers' who had been on shore, this idea was abandoned. Hall therefore passed on to Dābhol, where he cut out a junk and a frigate in spite of the fire of the forts. Viziadrūg was next visited, after which the ships anchored for a while at the mouth of the Devgad river. From this place the *Refuge* was dispatched to Bantam, and then Hall's squadron moved to Jaitāpur, in response to a message from the Governor of Rājāpur, offering trading facilities at that port. Richard Predys, the cape merchant of the fleet, with two others, went up to Rājāpur to negotiate; but they found that the Governor could do nothing without permission from Bījāpur, and that he was very averse to the cession of a site for a fort; so they returned to the fleet. Hall had meanwhile taken the opportunity to explore the mouth of the Viziadrūg river, with the possibilities of which he and his officers were much impressed (p. 258). Sailing on April 5, the squadron, after looking in at Goa, paid visits to the island of Anjidīv and to the mainland hard by. Honāwar was passed on the 9th and Mangalore the following day. A short stay was made at Mount Delly, and then Hall proceeded to Cochin in the hope of capturing three Portuguese ships anchored there; it was found, however, that they were lying in shallow water and defended by thirteen frigates, and so the idea of attacking them was abandoned. On April 19 the fleet quitted the coast of India and proceeded on its cruise to the southward.

Meanwhile Kerridge, after dispatching the *Exchange* to the Red Sea on March 22 in company with two Dutch ships, had handed over charge to his successor, Richard Wylde,[1] and had embarked

[1] It appears from *O.C.* 1291 that Wylde was elected at a consultation held on April 13, 1628; probably he assumed charge on that day.

As Kerridge now took his final leave of India, it may be of interest to add a few details regarding his later life. He reached London in December, 1628, and was warmly welcomed by the Company. In February, 1629, he took up his freedom, and in the following July he was elected a member of the Court; thenceforward he took an active part in the management of the Company until 1648, and his name occurs again in 1654–55. From some information kindly furnished by Mr. G. A. Taylor, it appears that Kerridge bought an estate at Shelley, in Suffolk, where he died about December, 1657. His will mentions also some houses in Thames Street, London, and an estate in Ireland; and he left a wife,

for England in the *William*, which sailed on April 15, 1628. He reached Mauritius on June 7, and found Hall's ships there. After a stay of eleven days the whole fleet sailed. The *William* parted company on June 26 for the Cape, while the rest went on to St. Augustine's Bay in Madagascar, where they found the *Eagle*. She was homewards bound from Bantam, but after getting near the Cape she had been driven back by storms and had only been saved with difficulty. As she was in bad condition and shorthanded, Hall deemed it best to take her with him. Towards the end of July the fleet anchored off Mozambique, and spent some time in looking for Portuguese vessels, but without success. The Comoros were next visited; and then, as nothing could be heard of the fleet expected from England, a return to Swally was decided upon. This port was reached without incident on the last day of September. There they found the ships they had been sent to meet, viz. the *Jonas* and *Expedition*, which had just arrived from England under Captain Richard Swanley.

A letter to Surat from the Agra factors, dated January 21, 1628, announced that Shāh Jahān had been proclaimed Emperor in that city on the 7th of the month (p. 228); and a postscript added that on the 22nd Clement and his colleagues had met the new monarch on his approach to his capital, and had been very graciously received, 'especiallie in regard wee weare the first Christians that saluted him or mett him att his coming hither.' 'The next morning, being the 23th, hee with his trayne verry sumptuoslie came into the cittie, not going to the castle but to his former pallace, which is neer unto the riverside' (p. 229). His installation as Emperor took place on February 4 (p. 240), after a general massacre of actual and possible competitors—Shahriyār, Bulāqī and his younger brother, and the two sons of Shāh Jahān's brother Dāniyāl.

In passing, we may note that while at Ahmadābād the Prince gave order that all moneys coined there until his own coronation should bear the stamp of his late father. Apparently the Surat authorities, in their zeal, had struck coins in Shāh Jahān's name,

Susan, and two sons, John and Samuel. Kerridge himself was born in the parish of St. Mary's, Exeter, and it is interesting to note that he was distantly related to Thomas Aldworth, the first English Agent at Surat.

with the result that this money was not recognized at Ahmadābād till some time later (pp. 232, 235, 238). Another curious item is the announcement that 'all rup[ees] of Noor Jehann Beagams stampe [i.e. the famous 'Zodiacal' coins] are called in and not to bee uttered' (p. 241).

In March, 1628, the Agra factors wrote that both they and the Dutch had got into trouble with the King for buying and transporting saltpetre without his permission. Clement and Bangham had been kept prisoners for a day and a night in the castle; but with a little judicious bribery they not only regained their liberty but obtained a licence to buy a further quantity of saltpetre. They added that 'the present occurrences in court is a gennerall lessening of former livings and mayntenance of all degrees of the late Kings amraws and servants, with dispeed of divers of them to sundrie parts of theis dominions' (p. 271). In the same month Bangham, Clitherow, and Goodwin quitted Agra with a caravan for Surat, leaving Clement and Cartwright there alone.

The letters from the factories at Ahmadābād, Broach, and Baroda at this period contain nothing of general interest. Early in October the *Blessing* returned from Bantam, accompanied by the *Christopher* and a prize. At the same time the *Exchange* reached Swally Road from the Red Sea. She brought back the survivors of the English factory, but had been able to sell scarcely any of her cargo, as the country was in a very disturbed state, owing to the Arabs having risen against the Turks. On her way back she had called at Aden (which had been captured by the Arabs in July, 1627), in the hope of recovering the pinnace *Scout* and the survivors of her crew; but the Governor replied to their demands by firing upon them from the castle, and they had no option but to resume their voyage.

The Surat Council had now a dozen vessels at their disposal—a far larger number than they could employ with profit, although they had run largely into debt with the native merchants[1] in order to meet the Company's urgent demands for the return of their shipping. On October 10, 1628, it was decided to send three vessels (the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star*) back to England; two

[1] When the 1628 fleet arrived the Surat factors were in debt to the extent of nearly 90,000*l*. (p. 295), a third of this being due to two merchants alone (p. 306).

(the *Mary* and a pinnace) to Bantam; and the remaining seven to Persia, in company with the Dutch, carrying mostly freight goods laded by Surat merchants. A fortnight later it was determined to withdraw the *Hart* from the Persia fleet and send her to England also; but as this would have entailed leaving behind some of the goods which the natives were anxious to transmit to Gombroon, such pressure was brought to bear on the factors that they were forced to revert to their original intention. As the Company had provided no money or goods for Persia, and had in fact forbidden the dispatch of a vessel thither, Richard Predys was placed in charge of the small cargo sent and was instructed not to leave any money at Gombroon, and if possible to sell all his goods for cash.

The Persia fleet sailed on December 27, together with the three ships destined for England; and they were accompanied by six Dutch vessels and eleven native junks and frigates. About a fortnight earlier the English had had a disagreeable reminder that the Portuguese, whose forces they had thought to be 'verie weake and their estate much declining' (p. 296), had not yet lost their power of stinging. A prize, which had been renamed the *Little James*, was coming down the river from Surat after refitting, accompanied by four native junks, and escorted by two English boats, when a number of Portuguese frigates attacked the little flotilla. The *Little James* was blown up by her own crew (p. 306), with the loss of many of their number, while the junks fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Persia fleet returned on March 12, 1629, bringing the survivors of Sir Dodmore Cotton's mission and news of the death of Shāh Abbās. In the letter sent by these ships Agent Burt and his colleagues wrote in very severe terms of the proceedings of Wylde and his Council, particularly as regards the President's private trade. The Surat factors retorted with equal bitterness, and thus a very pretty quarrel was started. About this time a letter was received at Surat from the Turkish Pasha of Basrā, complaining of the action of the English and Dutch in assisting the Persians and in capturing vessels belonging to his port. What action was taken upon these representations is not recorded.

The *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell* sailed for England on April 15, 1629, with cargoes amounting to 51,154*l.* 6*s.*; and with

them departed the *Jonas*, *Christopher*, and *Eagle* for Bantam. Both in the letter sent home by the former fleet and in one dispatched overland a fortnight later, the President and Council drew a cheerful picture of the state of affairs.[1] Sales had been brisk, and there was nothing of value remaining in hand. True, the factors were in debt 70,000*l.*, and would probably incur further liabilities before the annual fleet arrived; but their credit was good, and they anticipated no difficulty in lading two more ships early the next year. An invitation had been received from Sind for the establishment of an English factory in that country, and a native broker had been dispatched to make inquiries and procure samples of the goods procurable there. A project, ascribed to Shāh Jahān, of attacking Diu or Damān with the aid of the English ships was mentioned; and it was also stated that the Emperor had given them 'free lyberty to take all Portugall goods in all portes'. 'All the discontented rajaes and nobles of this kingdome are come and have submitted their obedience to the King, whose favour alsoe is in a more larger manner extended towards them then hertofore; soe as there is noe likelyhood but of a longe-continued peace. Amongst the rest your accion and servants have participated of none of the least of his honours; and both sitt at this time in India with more respects and esteeme then ever' (p. 336).

The letter intended to be sent to the Company through Turkey was forwarded to the factors in Persia, accompanied by 'a vearie tart' one in which Wylde replied to Burt's charges and taunts in vigorous language. About the same time a serious quarrel was developing in the Surat Council. Richard Boothby, who had been sent out by the Company the previous year and was now fourth in Council, was arraigned by Wylde on various charges. It is hard to discover anything very serious in the accusations brought against him; and he seems to have endeavoured to pacify the irate President by making a full submission, which is amusing in its way (p. 344). Wylde, however, was not to be appeased, and, as we shall see, Boothby was sent home a prisoner in 1630 to be dealt with by the Company.

The fleet of 1629 destined for Surat consisted of four vessels—

[1] Note, however, the ominous reference in the letter to Bantam to the fact that 'the want of rayne the last yeare hath made all provitions scarce and deare' (p. 329).

the *Charles*, *Discovery*, *Reformation*, and *Samuel* (pinnace)—under the charge of our old acquaintance, Captain John Weddell. Of these the first and the last were fitted out by the Second Joint Stock, while the other two were freighted by a new body of adventurers for what was known as the First Persia Voyage. It may be explained that the Joint Stock, which had been started in 1617 for four years, had been prolonged on the expiration of that period, and again in November, 1623, when it was decided not to make a new subscription until Christmas, 1627. This date was reached and passed; and in June, 1628, it was decided to call upon the adventurers for a supplementary subscription with a view to carrying on the trade upon the existing stock. However, the prospects of the Company appeared so gloomy that only a meagre sum was offered in response to this call; and so the idea was abandoned, and a new subscription was started for a Third Joint Stock of 600,000*l.*, to last for four years. This, too, failed; and in despair it was resolved to invite the members of the Company to subscribe for a special voyage to Surat and Persia, in order to keep the trade alive. The opportune arrival of four ships from the East with valuable cargoes resulted in the new subscription running up to a total of over 130,000*l.*, while at the same time the adventurers in the Second Joint Stock were encouraged to send out two ships as well—the *Charles* (to which was afterwards added the pinnace *Samuel*) for Surat, and the *London* for Bantam—mainly for the purpose of fetching home the goods supposed to be awaiting shipment in the East. They carried, however, a capital of 88,000*l.* in goods and money, while the *Discovery* and *Reformation* (which the new adventurers had hired from the old at 40*l.* a ton) took out just over 120,000*l.* (*Court Minutes*, April 13, 1629).

Weddell's fleet arrived at Swally on October 9, 1629, and found there the *Jonas* (which had returned from Bantam three days before) and six Dutch ships. Early in December the experience of the previous year was repeated. The *Samuel* had been sent down to the mouth of the Tāptī river, accompanied by a Dutch vessel, to convoy to Swally some native junks. They were attacked by a number of Portuguese frigates and, although four of the assailants were sunk, the *Samuel* was burnt with the loss of thirteen men, the survivors being saved by her Dutch consort.

On December 19 the *Charles*, *Discovery*, *Reformation*, and *Jonas* sailed for Gombroon with the Hollanders. They returned on March 17, 1630, without seeing anything of a Portuguese fleet which was said to be on the watch to intercept them. As a matter of fact, Nuno Alvarez Botelho, who in July, 1629, had taken charge of affairs at Goa on the death of the Bishop of Cochin, had sailed in September to relieve Malacca, which was beleaguered by the King of Achin. A new Viceroy, Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, arrived the following month, but Botelho had not returned, and without him and his forces the Portuguese could do nothing in the way of aggression.

Before quitting the subject of the factories of 'Mogulls India'—which are really the only ones in the peninsula that need be taken seriously into account in this connexion—it may be of interest to glance rapidly at the development which had taken place in the commercial intercourse between England and India since 1615, the first year in which a ship was sent home direct from Surat. Some idea of the volume of the trade may be obtained from the following table, which (in the absence of other sources of information) has been put together mainly from the factors' letters; but it must be remembered that in many of these years the shipments from Surat included a quantity of Persian silk, the cost of which cannot be separated from that of the goods which were really of Indian origin.

Year.	*Ships sent home.*	*Approximate cost of cargo.*
1615	*Hope* (300 tons)[1]	———
1616	*Lion* (500)	15,670*l.*
1617	*Globe* (500)	———
1618	*Bull* (400)	———
1619	*Anne* (800)	36,000*l.*
1620	*Lion* (500)	28,000*l.*
1621	*Hart* (500) and *Roebuck* (300)	———
1622	*London* (800), *Jonas* (700), and *Lion* (500)	———
1623	[None]	
1624	*Dolphin* (600)	[valued in England at 120,000*l.*]
1625	*William* (700) and *Blessing* (700)	———
	Star (350)	[valued in England at 43,000*l.*]
1626	*James* (900) and *Jonas* (700)	———
1627	[None]	

[1] The tonnage is in many cases approximate only, it being difficult to decide between the various estimates given.

Year.	*Ships sent home.*	*Approximate cost of cargo.*
1628	*Palsgrave* (1000 tons), *Dolphin* (600), and *Discovery* (500)	80,000*l.*
	William (700)	60,000*l.*
	Exchange (700), *Blessing* (700), and *Star* (350)	53,440*l.*[1]
1629	*Hart* (500), *Expedition* (300), and *Hopewell* (150)	51,150*l.*

Imperfect as this return is, it shows a very considerable growth both in the bulk and value of the trade; and we must not omit to notice that the exports to England by no means exhausted the commercial activity of the Surat factors in this direction. They sent cargoes to their colleagues at Achin, Batavia (or Bantam), Mokha, and Gombroon; and some of the goods they received in return, such as coffee, madder, and spices, were disposed of in India itself.

The goods exported from England to India did not vary much in character during this period. The chief items were: broadcloths and other woollens, chiefly of English manufacture; tin, lead, and quicksilver; ivory, brought no doubt largely from Africa in the first instance; coral from the Mediterranean; amber from the Baltic; tapestries, gold and silver embroideries; sword-blades and knives; with some jewels for sale at court. On all these articles there was, as a rule, a considerable profit; but the demand was limited, and the English factors were obliged to rely for funds chiefly upon the importation of ready money. Of this the favourite form was the Spanish rial of eight, though other foreign coins, gold as well as silver, were also brought, as we see in the present volume. Most of the silver imported was recoined into rupees or mahmūdīs.

Of exports, indigo, which formed the chief lading of the *Hope* in 1615, maintained its importance throughout this period, owing no doubt to the great demand for it in Europe for dyeing purposes. The Biāna indigo, in spite of its high price and the distance it had to be brought, was much preferred to that of Sarkhej, and in 1624 the Company ordered that not more than two-thirds of the indigo shipped should be of the latter kind (p. 38). Of other goods, we note a growing trade in saltpetre (the first order for which seems

[1] This includes the cargo of the *Eagle* from Bantam, which had been transhipped at Surat into the *Star*, as the former vessel was unable to continue her voyage.

to have been given by the Company in 1624), in raw cotton, cotton yarn, and Malabar pepper; but the chief increase appears to have been in cotton piece-goods. These had rapidly established themselves in popular favour at home, and had to a large extent displaced the more expensive linens imported from Holland and Germany; while any surplus stock found ready sale abroad. In August, 1623, the Deputy Governor (Morris Abbot) reported to the Company a conversation which he and Mr. Thomas Mun had had with King James, who asked 'what vent they had for the greate masse of callicoes [that] came yerelye. They answered that much of it is very usefull and vendes in England, whereby the prizes of lawnes, cambrickes, and other linnen cloth are brought downe; for the rest, England is now made the staple for that comoditie, which having first served His Majesties dominions, the overplus is transported into forrayne partes in the nature of a home bredd commoditie. The King approoved exceedingly thereof, and said that this was the ready way to bring treasure into his kingdome.' In the following April Abbot (now Governor) declared that whereas formerly England paid to the foreigner for hollands, lawns, and cambrics 500,000*l*. per annum, now half of this outlay was saved by the importation of calicoes [1]; and about a year later (March 30, 1625) he told a General Court that 'the commodities of Zuratt doe vend heer much better then in former tymes; for example . . . callicoes . . . hath found such vent in forreyne parts as if the Company had 100,000 or 200,000 peeces they wold bee uttered in short time'.

There was then no doubt that any goods of this nature which the factors might send home would come to a good market; but the difficulty was to find the necessary funds. The general failure of the trade in the Far East, and the troubles with the Dutch, had so discouraged the shareholders that (as we have seen) they showed an increasing unwillingness to meet any further demands upon their purses.[2] Meanwhile the expenses in the East on ships and

[1] He added that English merchants now carried more commodities into the Mediterranean than they had been wont to fetch from thence—a significant instance of the revolution in English commerce worked by the establishment of direct trade with the East.

[2] This is scarcely surprising, considering that, according to Sambrooke's report, the

factories, to say nothing of home charges, went on whether the capital available for investment was large or small (pp. 294, 331); and how heavy those expenses were is shown by the fact that Thomas Mun, writing about 1629, calculated that each 100*l.* sent to the East ought to produce at least 350*l.* to avoid a loss (*England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, Ashley's edition, p. 37).

A natural sequel of this want of funds on the part of the Company was a great increase in the private trade carried on by the factors. When the Surat Council found themselves obliged to borrow money at interest as the only way of providing cargoes for England, the ships they sent to Gombroon and Bantam necessarily carried little or nothing on account of the Company (cf. p. 330). Moreover, in the former case there were further reasons for abstention, namely, first the hesitation shown by the Company in deciding whether the Persia trade should or should not be continued; and secondly, an agreement made with the Shāh that at least one-fourth of the Company's importations should be in ready money. The gap thus caused was partly filled by the carriage of goods belonging to native merchants, which not only yielded a certain amount of freight, but also increased the customs at Gombroon, half of which went to the English under the Ormus agreement; but naturally the English factors and seamen thought that they too should be allowed to profit by the same opportunity, especially as 'the trade of these parts, even from porte to porte, ... doth answere 50 per cento in a yeares time' (p. 138); and so every one who had any money at command purchased goods for Gombroon or Bantam, as the case might be, and expected room to be found for his bales in the Company's vessels. This was in addition to the private trading going on in India itself, the amount of which was evidently very considerable, shared in as it was by every one, from the President to the latest comer. In vain the Company exacted stringent bonds on the appointment of factors or brought actions against them on their return home; in vain they obtained from King Charles a proclamation against private trade (February 15, 1628) and sent it to the East as a warning to their servants (p. 297). Some effort seems to have been made at Surat to restrain at

result of the Second Joint Stock was a profit of only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all, spread over a period of about fifteen years.

least the excessive abuse in the trade between that place and Gombroon; but in April, 1630, the President and Council confessed that practically every one employed in India was more or less a private trader. On this subject we shall hear more in the next volume.

'To the Southwards'—by which comprehensive though vague term the factors in Western India designated the sister Presidency of Batavia and its dependencies (including those on the Coromandel Coast)—the years covered by the present volume were full of misfortune and depression. In spite of the abandonment of a number of unprofitable factories in 1623, President Brockedon and his Council found it impossible to compete with their Dutch rivals, and their trade suffered accordingly. The disputes between the two nations were rendered still more bitter by the judicial murder of the English factors at Amboyna and by the irritating restrictions which were enforced at Batavia by the Dutch. At last, in January, 1624, the English decided to take the first opportunity of quitting that city and establishing a settlement of their own. Some island in the Sunda Straits, between Sumatra and Java, seemed to offer the fairest prospect of a suitable site; and in August Richard Swan in the *Charles* was sent thither to choose a place for a settlement and hoist the British flag. The vigilant Dutch forestalled him at more than one point, but he succeeded in taking possession on October 8, 1624, of Lagundy, the largest of a group of islands in Lampong Bay, on the Sumatran side of the Straits. At the end of November the English quitted Batavia for the new settlement, which was reached on December 5. The group was renamed the Charles Islands, and 'for a long time after', wrote the factors, 'we remayned affiant of a happy plantacion.' When the monsoon changed, however, it was found that the place was exceedingly unhealthy. The settlers 'fell like sheepe infected'; the ships lay rotting in the road for want of men to man them; and by the beginning of April more than half of the rapidly dwindling garrison were on the sick list. After another month's struggle Henry Hawley (who had become President on Brockedon's departure for England on February 8, 1625) and his Council were forced to swallow their pride and send a vessel to Batavia to beg help from the Dutch. It is pleasant to record that the latter behaved with

the greatest humanity, dispatched ships to Lagundy, and at their own expense brought the survivors and their goods back to Batavia (May 31, 1625).

This kindness brought about more amicable relations between the two nations; but after a time the old discords revived. The English made a special grievance of the war which the Dutch insisted upon maintaining against Bantam, which would otherwise have been a handy source of pepper; and it was with no small satisfaction that the President and Council received, early in 1628, instructions from home to quit Batavia once more and establish themselves at Bantam, the ruler of which had for some time expressed his willingness to receive them. They departed accordingly on January 16, 1628, and a few days later the whole establishment was settled at Bantam. Hawley, who was too ill to remain, sailed for England on February 18, leaving Richard Bix as President. He in turn departed towards the end of the year, when George Muschamp took up the reins of office. He was still President when the volume closes.

Having thus glanced at the course of events at the seat of the Presidency, we turn to the subordinate settlements with which we are more immediately concerned. Masulipatam was of course the most important of these; but before following its history during the six years with which we are dealing, we may give a brief account of an attempt which was made direct from Batavia in 1624 to open up a trade on the Indian littoral in the dominions of the Nāyak of Tanjūr.

This venture was prompted by the glowing reports of that district given by an Englishman, John Johnson, who had come out 'master in one of the Danes shipps',[1] and, having been left at Tranquebar, had made his way to Masulipatam and thence to Batavia. He declared that the Danes had procured an ample supply of pepper, and that the Portuguese bought large quantities of excellent calico there; that the Dutch were eager to establish themselves in the Nāyak's territories, but he would have nothing to do with them, though he was not only willing but anxious to receive

[1] i.e. the *Christian*, which was wrecked on the coast of Ceylon (1622–23 volume, p. 52). For charges against Johnson relative to his previous proceedings see the Court Minutes of April 8, 1626.

the English and grant them favourable terms. Moved by these representations, the President and Council at Batavia decided to send to the Nāyak's port of Kārikāl the ship *Hart* (Captain Bickley), with Mr. Joseph Cockram, one of the Batavia Council, as 'cheife director', and four English assistants. The stock was fixed at 52,000 rials, four-fifths of which was to be invested in pepper and the rest in calicoes; and a letter was written to the Nāyak requesting his gracious treatment of the factors and the concession of the necessary privileges. With them went John Johnson as pilot.

The experiment turned out a complete failure. The *Hart* quitted Batavia on March 27, 1624, accompanied by the *Unity*, which was to proceed with her to the Coast and then to go on to Masulipatam. The voyage was a long one, for it was not until May 21 that the Indian littoral was sighted, their landfall being near Tegnapatam. Apparently the *Unity* then proceeded to her destination, while her consort, coasting along in a southerly direction, passed the new Danish fort at Tranquebar and anchored at Kārikāl on May 23. Next day the Captain went ashore and was received with every mark of welcome by the Governor, who at once dispatched to Tanjūr the news of the arrival of an English ship. While awaiting a reply, the Danes made two attempts to frighten away the new-comers, alleging that they held an exclusive concession from the Nāyak for all the ports between Nagapatam and Pulicat; but Cockram and Bickley returned defiant answers and nothing more was said. On June 8, in response to an invitation from the Nāyak, the English merchants departed for Tanjūr, 'where they were all ryall[y] entertained both by the King himselfe and also by his noblemen, and were by the King his owne mouthe promised free trade and allsoe that they should have the porte of Carracall at any [? an] easye rate; but the Portinga[ls] and the Danes were greatly agaynst yt, but moste of all the Danes were our deadly and moste cruell enimyes' (p. 15). The latter, it is alleged, gave the Nāyak 'great bribes'—a species of argument Cockram did not feel himself at liberty to employ; and when he was confronted with a demand for a yearly payment of 7,000 rials of eight for permission to use the port of Kārikāl, he broke off the negotiations and returned to the *Hart* (July 9). The English were the less

disposed to satisfy the Nāyak's greed for money, in that they found the pepper of the country to be limited in quantity and 'of a very small sort and that allwayes much wett with the fresh water in portage from the upland mountaines' (p. 19).

After paying a visit to the Danes at Tranquebar, where the merchants were hospitably entertained, the ship sailed on July 17 and, after calling at Tegnapatam, anchored off Pondicherri on July 19. The Governor of the district came on board and begged Cockram to settle a factory in that port; but answer was made that it would be necessary first to obtain permission from Batavia.[1] The *Hart* sailed again on August 3, and four days later reached Masulipatam, where they found the *Unity*, which had only survived with difficulty the passage from Batavia, and was now condemned to be broken up. At Masulipatam the *Hart* remained till October 5, and then returned to Batavia, reaching that port on November 20. Johnson was blamed 'for deluding us in the busines of Tanjour' and punished by withholding his wages. He was, however, permitted to return to England, where he succeeded in persuading the Court that the fault lay with the merchants rather than with him, and he was paid his wages accordingly. He was then sent out again as master in the *Discovery* in 1626, and died on the return voyage two years later (p. 218).

Of events at Masulipatam during the first two years of the period here treated we have but scanty information, for all the letters written by the factors there seem to have perished, though we have a short extract from one of them copied in the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of 1624 the factory was under the charge of Thomas Mills. His second was Francis Futter, who is referred to as having to stand a trial at Golconda (p. 5) and fallen into much misery (p. 12)—an episode regarding which we have no further

[1] It was decided by the President and Council on January 12, 1625, that the dispatch of a ship to Pondicherri should 'bee seriously considered of'; but the troubles that ensued prevented further attention being paid to the matter. A year later a letter from Batavia to the Company states that the Danes had 'intercepted our intended factory at Podisera for paintings' (p. 119). A Dutch letter from Pulicat towards the close of 1625 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 225) mentions that the Danes had endeavoured to procure calicoes at 'Poulo Cera' and Porto Novo; and a later letter (*ibid.*, vol. viii. no. 240) says that the Danish merchants left at both places had been imprisoned by the Nāyak.

information, though we know that Futter was back in England at the end of 1625. The dispatch of the *Unity* from Batavia to Masulipatam has already been mentioned. She carried thither a stock of 20,000 rials of eight, besides a cargo of goods; and later in the year a Dutch ship brought letters from the English President instructing the factors to make a large investment in diamonds.

In March, 1625, the President and Council received letters from Masulipatam which disclosed 'janglings and distractions there' (p. 118). Five months later they dispatched thither the pinnace *Rose* with a supply of money and goods to the value of over 34,000 rials. She was cast away on the Indian coast with the loss of seventeen lives; her goods, however, were saved and brought to Masulipatam by two Danish vessels. The factors wrote letters thence in November, 1625, which are no longer extant; but they are summarized as showing that 'our trade lieth there also on bleeding, cheefly by wicked devices of Governours, tolerated by their weake spirited King, and partly animated by the disagreements between us and the Dutch' (p. 119). From a letter written in December we learn that Mills had determined to re-establish the factory at Petapoli, with Edward Trafford as chief; but the intention does not seem to have been carried out till towards the end of February, 1626, when Trafford proceeded thither with a small stock of goods and money. Mills found him there on March 4 (p. 135), but he appears to have died between that date and June 11 (p. 145).

Early in 1626 a new and important chapter in the history of the English on the Coromandel Coast was begun. The reasons which had led them to desire a foothold first in Pulicat and then in Tanjūr territory still held good, and orders had reached Masulipatam from Batavia to search for a suitable site for a settlement in the Hindū country to the southwards, where they might buy calicoes at a cheap rate and be free from the exactions of the Musalmān officials. In the previous volume (p. 193) we found recorded under date of February 8, 1623, an invitation from 'the greateste man in this quarter . . . to seat ourselves within his authorytie'; and we now learn (p. 117) that Mills, while stationed at Pulicat, had 'had some experience of' a place called Armagon,[1] about forty miles north of

[1] Armagon, or Durgarāzpatnam, lies on the coast at the northern end of the great

the Dutch fortress, and since his transfer to Masulipatam had received a pressing invitation to settle there from the native merchants, backed by a letter from the Nāyak of the district,[1] promising a favourable reception. It was accordingly decided (January 26, 1626) that Mills, accompanied by two other factors and a number of sailors from the shipwrecked *Rose*, should proceed thither to establish a factory. As no English ship was available, a native boat was hired, and in this Mills and his companions started at the end of January,[2] without letting the Dutch at Masulipatam know anything about their intentions. They were received at Armagon with every sign of satisfaction by the inhabitants, and the Nāyak, who was then engaged in the siege of a fort some twenty miles away, invited them to repair at once to his camp. There they found an unexpected opponent in the person of a native who had been dispatched from Pulicat by the Dutch to prevent any concession being made to the English. He is said to have bribed lavishly and to have made a tempting offer to the Nāyak himself on condition that he would send the English empty away; but the latter pleaded that they had come at the Nāyak's express invitation and in reliance upon his promises of favour. An offer from the Dutch representative of two pieces of ordnance shook his resolution for a moment; but the English promised in their turn to bring him a cannon, and he thereupon decided to grant them the desired concession. By this the factors were permitted free trade in all parts of his dominions, while the Dutch were absolutely excluded. For customs the duties were fixed at one per cent. on imports (treasure excepted) and three per cent. on exports (pp. 129, 133).[3]

lagoon known as the Pulicat Lake, while Pulicat lies at the southern extremity. To the south-eastward of Armagon, under the shelter of the Armagon Shoal, is an anchorage known as Blackwood's Harbour, because it was surveyed in 1821 at the instance of Sir Henry Blackwood (Nelson's friend), who was then Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies station. 'It is the only place on the Coromandel Coast which offers any real protection to ships during an easterly gale' (*Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. iii. p. 281).

[1] Probably the Nāyak of Venkatagiri. The Dutch accounts style him 'Tyma Neyck' [? Timma Nāyaka], 'Terra Wackepatney,' and 'Wenckepatneyck' [? Venkatapati Nāyaka]; but Mr. Sewell has been unable to trace any of these names in the pedigree of the Venkatagiri family.

[2] The dates given in the three accounts on pp. 120, 128, and 132 are all different.

[3] The Dutch accounts allege that the duties agreed upon were three per cent. on imports and exports alike.

Further, the Nāyak is said to have 'given order for a spacious compass of ground, whereon we might build castle, house, or what we thought fitting', and to have promised 'to stamp us both pagodas and fanams also in our own house, paying 1½ per cent.' (p. 128). The exclusion of the Dutch not only from Armagon but also from 'Cottepatnam',[1] was, we may note, a great grievance with them, as they alleged that they had traded at the latter port for many years (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 233, and vol. viii. nos. 239, 240, 246, and 258).

It will be noticed that the accounts given in the present volume lend no support to the tradition that Armagon was a new name given to the settlement by the English in recognition of the assistance they received from the local headman, Armugam Mudaliar. Every indication points to its having been the name of the place before the English thought of settling there; while so far from having received any special assistance from the Governor, they complain on pp. 129, 131 of his avaricious dealings and his 'practices of villany', and he seems to have been removed in consequence of their complaints (p. 343).

On his return to Armagon, Mills at once proceeded to mark out the ground for the new settlement—a work which involved the pulling down of a number of native houses. He gives the limits of the ground as one hundred and fifty yards by one hundred (p. 134), but the space actually enclosed by the wall which the factors proceeded to raise is stated to have been ninety by sixty (p. 129). Thomas Johnson was placed in charge of the settlement, with two assistants, and on March 1 Mills proceeded overland to Masulipatam. Writing in April Johnson says that they have finished their wall and are now erecting a small house. A month later he reports that the settlement 'rests very hopeful', though the Dutch are doing all they can to hinder them (p. 130). The 'new fair mansion brick house' was taken possession of on May 21, 1626, and soon after Johnson wrote to Masulipatam for guns to mount in its windows,[2] as an attack upon the town was feared (p. 132).

[1] Kottapatnam, still the chief port in Nellore district. As this then belonged to the Nāyak, the boundary of the Golconda kingdom, as given in the map prefixed to the 1618–21 volume of this series, is drawn too far south. Probably it should follow the Gundlakamma River.

[2] Apparently these were sent, for a Dutch letter from Pulicat in June, 1627, described

About the same time Mills, in reporting his proceedings to Batavia, urged that a fort should be erected at Armagon. 'Were we once fortified', he said, 'we should draw infinite of all sorts of people . . . and in time we should get the whole government of the place into our own hands' (p. 135).

We have already mentioned the dispatch of the pinnace *Falcon* to Masulipatam from Surat in the spring of 1626. She reached her destination at the beginning of May, and sailed again on June 11, but did not get to Batavia until late in September (pp. 144, 145). The arrival of a vessel from England with a good supply of money enabled the President there to send another pinnace, the *Abigail*, to the Coromandel Coast with a cargo invoiced at 52,000 rials. She carried also some stores and twenty men for the new settlement, besides two new factors to assist Johnson there, and three for the Petapoli factory. Mills was to see to the delivery of a letter and present to the 'Naick of Armagon' and to secure, if possible, the grant of fresh privileges. He was then to return to Batavia to answer certain charges which had been preferred against him, leaving affairs at Masulipatam in the hands of George Brewen, who was specially sent to relieve him, with Robert Hawley as his chief assistant (p. 146).

The scanty documents available for 1627 include nothing from either Armagon or Masulipatam; but we glean a few leading facts from the letters written at other settlements and from the Dutch records of the time. The latter relate that on the arrival of the *Abigail*, the English at Armagon (about May, 1627) took up to the Nāyak the promised piece of ordnance, with ammunition and other presents to the value of 1,000 pardaos. While in the great man's camp the escort much incensed him by firing a volley of musketry when he was asleep, and in his anger he would have had them all killed had not one of his chief men persuaded him to overlook the offence. We are also told that the merchants at Armagon had come into collision with the Governor there, with the result that for a time the factory was deprived of supplies of food and water.[1]

the English house at Armagon as being fitted with four iron sakers to fire through the windows. It is added that the building, which is covered with tiles, is surrounded by a mud wall without bastions (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 258).

[1] For all this see the *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. nos. 258, 261, 273.

The *Morris* from Surat arrived at Masulipatam on April 27, 1627, with a cargo that had cost about 1,900*l.* (p. 200). From that port she went on to Armagon, and thence on August 14 sailed for Batavia, which was reached two months later. Mills had intended to embark in her, but was so ill that he was forced to wait for the *Abigail*, which was then being refitted (p. 182). She sailed in turn for Armagon and Batavia on October 15 (p. 200), but apparently Mills was not on board; and he must have died during the next few months, for when next we hear of the factory Brewen is in charge.

The ships that reached Surat in 1627 had brought out an intimation that the Company had decided to dissolve the factory at Masulipatam (pp. 251, 278). The object no doubt was to reduce expenses, which seemed the less justifiable now that a factory had been established at Armagon for the provision of such calico goods as were still needed for Bantam; and though the President and Council at the latter place were doubtful of the advisability of surrendering the factory at Masulipatam, they admitted that the abuses suffered there 'by the evell disposicion of the Governour' had 'growne unsuferable' (p. 278). The decision was duly communicated to the factors concerned, and a promise was given that a vessel should be dispatched from Bantam to enable them to carry out their instructions. However, the summer of 1628 passed without any sign of the promised ship; and in September Brewen and his colleagues decided to wait no longer. Procuring a native boat, they set sail secretly on the 27th of that month for Armagon. The bulk of their stock they had already sent in a Dutch ship to Pulicat for storage; the remainder was left behind under the charge of Richard Hudson, with directions to remove to a smaller house and to do his best to get in certain debts. To the Governor they sent a defiant letter enumerating their grievances, and intimating that they had no intention of returning unless they were afforded redress.

On the last day of 1628 the *Swallow* reached Armagon from Bantam; and a little later a sum of about 400*l.* was remitted to the factors from Surat (p. 325). The ship's first employment was to fetch from Pulicat the goods from Masulipatam of which the Dutch had kindly taken charge. This done, on January 29 she set

out for Masulipatam, in company with the pinnace *Fortune*, constructed out of the native boat in which the factors had made their escape to Armagon. Brewen was in charge, and the object of his mission was to recover, if possible, the debts left behind at that place. On arriving in the road, a letter was sent to the Governor, intimating the English demands. He replied by inviting Brewen and his colleagues to come ashore, when their debts should be paid and freedom of trade secured to them; but to this invitation a decided refusal was returned. Several small junks that arrived a day or two later were promptly arrested, and Brewen sent word to the Governor that they would not be released until satisfaction was given. On the night of February 19 the Dutch residents, having resolved to abandon their factory, made their escape to the English ships; and shortly after, on the arrival of some of their own shipping, the Hollanders commenced a systematic blockade of Masulipatam. Some negotiations appear to have now taken place, in consequence of which one of the English factors was sent ashore to receive payment for the debts, which were to be discharged partly in cloth; and shortly after the junks were released. On March 20 a statement of the terms on which the English were prepared to resume their commerce with 'the kingdom of Golconda' (p. 317) was delivered to the Governor; and this seems to have been transmitted to the capital with a request for instructions. No answer was returned—or at least none was communicated to the English—and at the beginning of May it was decided to return to Armagon, after intimating to the Governor that their claims against him on account of damages sustained and loss of trade amounted to 53,000 pagodas. Great difficulty was experienced in fetching the desired port, for twice the *Swallow* was beaten back by contrary winds and currents; and it was not until about June 6 that she managed to reach Armagon. She sailed for Bantam about June 25, carrying Brewen and Johnson. In a letter sent by her, Henley and Bix, the two factors left in charge at Armagon, wrote urging the necessity of fortifying the settlement, as although the Nāyak still showed himself well disposed towards them, and had recently displaced the Governor of the town upon their complaint, he had 'many mallignant knaves about him' who had given a great deal of trouble; 'beesides, this Naige stands uppon doubtfull tearmes

wheather hee shall keepe his cuntry, for hee is a usurper and the true King doth daylie take from him and his fellowes confederates' (p. 343). They were on good terms with their Dutch neighbours, but were under some apprehensions with regard to the Portuguese at S. Thomé, who had recently ventured into Pulicat Road and burnt a junk in despite of the Dutch castle. Of their poverty and want of means they drew a dismal picture; and we may note that among the supplies for which they were longing they included a quantity of 'gould to minte into pagodes, wee having the chopp or stampt nowe in this towne' (p. 343). A further letter of August 20, 1629, informed the Bantam Council that unless relief came they would be obliged to apply again to the Dutch for a loan to pay their household expenses. Some overtures had been received from Masulipatam, and these were referred to the President and Council. 'The greate Kinge of the Gentewes'—meaning apparently the Chandragiri Rājā—had reduced all the Nāyaks to submission, save the one in whose dominions Armagon was situated, and they feared that the latter would not long be able to hold out (p. 346).

The *Swallow*, in a very leaky condition, reached Bantam on August 17. Reviewing the situation some two months later in a letter to the Company, President Muschamp and his colleagues hinted a desire to re-establish trade with Masulipatam, as 'the sorts of cloth there provided' were much needed for sale at Jambi and Macassar. Of the goods that had been obtained at Armagon they spoke in terms of some disparagement, while admitting the difficulties under which the factors had laboured for want of means. They mentioned that the Nāyak had granted 'large priveledges for the confirmation of our trade, with libertie to fortifie for our owne securitie', in spite of the efforts of the Dutch to bribe him to 'infringe his covenants made with us'. As regards the settlement itself, we learn that it had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted in and about the house, and that the number of factors and soldiers was twenty-three in all. The question of further expenditure upon fortification was referred to the decision of the Company (p. 359). Such was the situation at the close of 1629.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1624–29

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *DOLPHIN* AT SWALLY BY PRESIDENT RASTELL AND MESSRS. JAMES, BANGHAM, MARTIN, AND HOARE, JANUARY 7, 1624 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 80).

The Company having by their last letters empowered the Council to increase the wages of their servants in India, the following decisions are come to, subject to their confirmation at home: (1) Robert Tottle, who has served from 1614 and has received no wages until the last two years, is given 30*l.* a year for the future. (2) John Bangham, who has hitherto had no wages, is allowed 50*l.* per annum. (3) John Leachland is to have 60*l.* per annum. (4) Joseph Hopkinson, in view of his past services and his appointment as accountant, is to receive 100*l.* per annum in future. Examination having been made of the charges against certain sailors of pilfering from the natives, the question is adjourned until the return of the *Blessing*. (*Copy. 2 pp.*)

JOHN FACY, PURSER'S MATE OF THE *REFORMATION* [AT SWALLY], TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE COMPANY, JANUARY 8, 1624 (*O.C.* 1140).

His mate, Thomas Read, is dead, and has left his accounts in great confusion. Has done his best to put them straight, and now transmits a book of wills and inventories of deceased men, with the inventories of some who deserted at Ormus. The provisions brought from England have proved very good. Billings, the late purser of the *Whale*, has been appointed by the President and Council to be purser of the *Reformation*. Will write again from Bantam. (1 *p.*)

Consultation held in Batavia by President Brockedon and Council, January 8, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 127).

Whereas John Johnson, 'late master in one of the Danes shipps,' has given information regarding an opening for trade in the King of Tanjūr's country, which may prove very beneficial, they have offered him 6*l.* per month to proceed in the ship intended thither. Refusing this, he is granted leave to go to England in the next shipping,[1] and is given 50 rials of eight towards his expenses here. (*Extract only.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *p.*)

Extract from a Dutch Letter from Ispahān, January $\frac{8}{18}$, 1624 (*O.C.* 1141).[2]

The Portuguese came by night with rowing vessels under Ormus Castle and set fire to the *Reformation* and two native ships. The latter were wholly burnt, but the flames in the *Reformation* were quenched with the aid of the Hollanders. The assailants were detected by the watch on the Dutch ships, who fired several shots at them. The *Reformation* was in great peril, having forty sick men on board. The Dutch lent sixteen men to carry her to Surat; otherwise she could not have sailed. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company, January 17, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 214).

They intend to send the *Hart* to the place the Danes have fortified on the Coast of Coromandel, where they understand that good cloths and paintings and store of pepper may be had. The prince of that country has sent a letter inviting them to trade in his dominions; and they are told that 'the Danes in ten weeks time have laden three or four hundred tonnes of pepper, and that the

[1] Johnson changed his mind and went to Tanjūr as desired.

[2] With an English translation (*O. C.* 1142). The extract was delivered by the Dutch East India Company to Mr. Barlow, the English Company's agent at Amsterdam, and was transmitted by him to his employers. A reference was made to the matter at a General Court held on December 10, 1624; but at a subsequent meeting (March 30, 1625) the Governor said that 'the Dutch do give out that they did this Company some favour in saving one of our shipps from burnnig, but it appeares there was no such thing.' The *Reformation* was at Ormus in the rainy season of 1623. The Dutch vessel was the *Heusden* (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vi. no. 198).

Portugalls buy almost all their cloth in that country. Hee is accounted the most warlike prince in all those parts, an observer of justice, and will protect all those that trade in his country.' The *Unity* is to go to Masulipatam with a suitable capital, but less than usual, in view of the venture to Tanjūr. (*Extract.* ¼ *p.*)

HENRY HAWLEY AT BATAVIA TO THOMAS KEIGHTLEY[1] IN LONDON, JANUARY 17, 1624 (*O.C.* 1145).

They have received commendations of 'Tanjoer', as providing commodities 'both better cheape and more plenty then at Masulapatan, more convenient for shipping, pepper and other comodities there growinge.' Having seen samples of the cloth, they have decided to send a ship in the spring to plant a factory there. (*Extract.* ¼ *p.* *Much damaged.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE KING OF SOCOTRA, FEBRUARY 9, 1624 (*O.C* 1148).

Received His Highness's letters by his servants, 'Sade Sheckaune' [Saīd Shaikhān] and 'Essuf Turcke' [Yūsuf Turkī], whom Rastell has always assisted with his best furtherance. Thanks the King for his favour to the English. Has sent his letter [*see previous volume*, p. 343 *n.*] to King James. As regards his desire of assistance with ships and soldiers against his enemy the King of 'Share' [Shehr], the English are willing to do him service, but cannot this year, owing to want of vessels. Besides, so weighty a business requires consideration 'and conditions on both sides'. Desires that he will not receive into his ships the goods or persons of those enemies of the English, 'the Dabulliers and Chaulemen.' (*Substance of a letter in Persian.* 1 *p.*)

PIETER VAN DEN BROECK, DUTCH CHIEF AT SURAT, TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 28, 1624 (*O.C.* 1151).

Encloses a copy of a letter he has received from 'Your Honors servaunts (our good frendes) in this place'. Will comply with the request, and do any other service in his power, consistent with his duty to his own employers. Wishes the writers had related their

[1] A member of the Company, and recently a 'Committee'.

particular grievances, but, as they are kept so close that communication is impossible, patience is the only course. *Annexed:—*

Thomas Rastell, Giles James, and Joseph Hopkinson, at Surat, to P. Van den Broeck, February 28, 1624. As the ships are shortly expected from Persia, and some of the English, in ignorance of the factors' troubles, may land 'and so become lyable to our suffrings', they beg his friendly assistance in warning them, and also in conveying to them the letter enclosed.

(*Attested copies.*[1] *In all 2 pp. An endorsement states that the original came from the Indies in June*[2], 1625, *and was kept back by the Dutch Company, who merely sent the present copies.*)

Consultation held in Batavia by President Brockedon and Council, March 2, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 128).

It is decided to send the *Unity* to Masulipatam and the *Hart* to Tanjūr. Mr. Joseph Cockram (one of the Council) is to go in the latter as 'cheife director in the whole action', with George Brewen (who is to be left as principal in the new factory), John Cartwright, Richard Robinson, and Edward Powell. Edward Trafford and Thomas Johnson sent in the *Unity* to be second and third at Masulipatam. They are to take thither (besides goods) 20,000 rials in coin and Japan silver. The stock for Tanjūr is fixed at 52,000 rials, of which 40,500 is to be for pepper and the rest for calicoes. (*Extracts only.* 1 *p.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Factors at Masulipatam, March 5, 1624 (*Ibid.*, p. 243).

Received their letters by the *Ruby* on November 22 last, and will answer them by the *Unity*.[3] Their letters by the *Wapen van Rotterdam* have also come to hand. Complain that the latter are 'couched with such affectation that in many places wee are forced to guesse at your meaning, and in many places can finde no sence at all'; so beg that in future they will write 'in a more plaine and

[1] Similar copies are at the Public Record Office (*East Indies*, vol. iii. no. 7).

[2] Apparently this should be May (see *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1625–29, p. 70).

[3] The present letter was sent in a Dutch ship.

marchantlike stile and leave such affectate eloquence to more triviall occasions'. They are sorry for the wretched state of Francis Futter, though it seems to be due to his own folly; it would have been better for him to have made his peace with the Governor, even upon somewhat intolerable conditions, than 'to have stood to triall before those prowd Moores of Golconda'. However, the factors should now endeavour to clear him if possible. They are likewise sorry to understand the injuries done by the natives to the Dutch Governor [Van Uffelen: *see previous volume*, pp. 315, 316], occasioned partly by 'his proud and disdainefull demeanour towards them'. This should be a warning to the English lest they should be treated in like manner. The Dutch here complain, on the authority of letters from Signor Libenaer, that Mills 'was the principall cause of all their troubles', and that the Moors would not have dared to attempt such violence but for his instigation. They assert that during their Governor's imprisonment Mills went divers times to the Dutch house and read certain letters from Golconda, 'to terrify them and feele their resolution;' that 'you had offered 10,000 pagods to the Moores to drive the Dutch from thence, that wee might have the trade alone to ourselves; and finally that you held certaine conventions with the Governour, &c., in our owne house, and gave to the value of 300 pagods to them in presents at the same time'. Cannot believe these accusations; but as they will doubtless be transmitted to Europe, it will be well for Mills to clear himself. They expressly forbid him 'to use any violent courses or harsh demeanours towards the Dutch in this businesse, well knowing the many inconveniences that may grow by such harsh and uncivill proceedings'. The Dutch General here has promised to warn the English in time should he decide to make reprisals against Masulipatam; but he intends to avoid extreme measures if possible, 'because it would be exceeding prejudiciall unto their affaires to loose the trade of that place.' Still, it is necessary for the factors to watch closely the proceedings of the Dutch, in order that they may not suffer in any hostilities that may ensue. On February 22 the Dutch *Schoonhoven* and another pinnace arrived from Surat, and brought a short letter from President Rastell, announcing the capture of the junks and 'a good and proffitable agreement to our masters

benifitt' in consequence. He did not mention that any subjects of Golconda had been taken in the junks; so probably that is 'a meere fable'. Three ships are to go home from Surat this year: the *Dolphin* in January, and the *Blessing* and *William* in March. The dispatch of the *Reformation* to Batavia with a good capital is also promised. Intend to send them by the *Unity* about 20,000 rials of eight, with some lead and porcelain; but have little or no spices to spare. Steel of the broad sort may be bought at Masulipatam for Batavia; but of ordinary steel there is at present a glut. The prices of other Coast goods have also fallen considerably. 'The cloth that wee most desire from Musulpatam is long cloth, betillees white and redd of 40 covetts, salempoores and redd percallas.'[1] Intended dispatch of the *Hart* to Tanjūr. Mr. Johnson affirms that he delivered to Mr. Mills a letter from the 'Naick' intended for the President and Council, 'which wee admire you should keepe back, being it so much importeth our masters businesse, for wee know not what his promises were in the said letter nor what answeare to make him.' Sent the *Exchange* and *Elizabeth* for England on December 15, and the *Anne* on February 25. (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

Captain John Hall, Captain Christopher Brown, Edward Heynes, Richard Lancaster, and Thomas Waller, aboard the *William* at the Bar of Surat, to the Dutch [at Surat ?], March 14, 1624 (*O.C.* 1152).

They know not why the Dutch protect these India junks, goods, and people, who have so manifestly dishonoured the King of England and wronged the English Company 'by zeazing violently into their hands their whole estate and imprisoning their servants'. If this course be persisted in, they must protest against the Dutch and hold them responsible for all that happens. They disclaim any intention of infringing the Treaty of Defence or the instructions given by the two Companies to their servants, which (they must remind them) enjoin mutual help when wrongs are received by either from a foreign nation; but they assure them that the junks 'shall not part from under our commaunds untill wee understand

[1] 'Betillees' and 'salempoores' are explained at p. 103 of the last volume. For 'percallas' see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 708.

better of the estate and condition of our President and Councell in Suratt, which by all circumstances wee may justlie suppose are both betrayed and inthrauled by your instigations and underhand dealing with our enemies these people'. *P.S.*—Have sent copies of this protest to 'your assistance [*sic*] and protectors of these juncks' that they may not plead ignorance should cause be found 'to oppose you in our rights'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

PRESIDENT BROCKEDON AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA TO THOMAS STAVERTON AT JAMBI, MARCH 21, 1624 (*O.C.* 1154).

. . . Mr. Rastell writes from Surat that 'our shipps have had good successe this yeare uppon the joncks of those parts', and that the *Reformation* will be dispatched to Batavia with a good capital in money and goods. It is intended to send home three great ships from Surat this year, which will partly make up for the loss of the *Whale*. . . . The *Unity* is to start shortly for Masulipatam, and the *Hart* 'for a new plantation uppon the Coast, where the Danes reside' . . . (¼ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE 'NAYGE OF TANJUER', MARCH 27, 1624 (*O.C.* 1155).[1]

They trust that His Highness's letter to their agent in Masulipatam (lost by the latter's negligence) will excuse this abrupt coming to him before they could commend his gracious favours unto their own sovereign; and since they have learned by Mr. Johnson's relations his good inclination towards their nation, they have dispatched the bearer, Mr. Joseph Cockram, with the aforesaid Mr. Johnson, to offer their service in the accommodation of commerce, that 'yt may for ever remayne inviolablie a band of ametie between the howses of Tanjurr and Greate Brittaine'. Their intent is only to transport such commodities of his kingdom as can conveniently be spared, and to furnish in return such English and other goods as are wanted and are in their power to supply. They

[1] A copy of the Portuguese text will be found at p. 270 of *Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. together with a list of goods the factors are prepared to supply (cloth, tin, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, iron, saffron, &c.), and a sketch of the privileges desired. For a late copy of the English version see *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 25.

do not doubt His Majesty's gracious favour for the grant of the necessary privileges, on which point the bearer is empowered to negotiate. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

Commission from the President and Council at Batavia to William Langford, March 27, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 260).

To proceed to 'Sericall'[1] and Masulipatam with his ship the *Unity*, of 300 tons. At the latter port he is to stand carefully on his guard, and take his instructions from the merchants, in case of hostilities between the Dutch and the natives. Special attention is to be paid to the stowage of goods. He is to endeavour the capture of any Portuguese vessels he may meet. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

Instructions to Joseph Cockram and others for Settling a Factory in Tanjūr, March 27, 1624 (*Ibid*., p. 265).[2]

On arrival at 'Sericall' a 'caoul' [Arabic *qaul*, a safe-conduct] is to be procured from the Governor before landing. Mr. Johnson or some other should next be sent to the Nāyak to procure a farmān 'that you may come safely unto him; which being granted, you shall present him with our letters and such presents as wee have sent', and demand the grant of suitable privileges. The *Unity* is to be sent on to Masulipatam within five or six days of their arrival, with advice to Mr. Mills of the quantities, &c., of cloth likely to be procured at the new settlement. No attempt should be made to build a factory house until they are satisfied that the trade is worth pursuing. 'The cheefest thing wee aime at is the procuring of large quantities of pepper; wherefore, if pepper be extraordinary deare, or but little to be gotten, wee hold it unfitting to remayne there, unlesse the place afford extraordinary good cloth and good cheape, and that there be hopes to vend quantities of our English commodities, which you are especially to inquire after.' To be cautious in landing goods until well assured of the Nāyak's affection; also in giving credit to the natives. 'In Musulpatam it is common to trust Committees [*see previous volume*, p. 135]; but in

[1] Kārikāl, twelve miles north of Negapatam and six miles south of Tranquebar. With a few short intervals it has been a French possession since 1736.

[2] There is a late copy in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix.

all the time of our trade wee have not had 300 rials bad debts. . . . Wee are informed there is a great Commitie in the Naicks country named Malaya, which wee make account wilbe your cheef marchant and will undertake great matters. He shewed himself very honest in his dealings with Mr. Mills at Pallicatt; yet by dealing with inferiour Committies you shall better understand the markett and know how to bargaine with Malaya with more certainty.' To be especially careful in choosing good colours, as there is much deceit in the reds (the most usual colour); also in seeing that the goods correspond with the samples. Packing should not be carried on in moist weather or while the cloths are still damp. They must look vigilantly to the delivery of the goods at the time appointed, and must have packing materials prepared in time. Should the Nāyak be very earnest for a piece of ordnance, they may spare him one of the ship's guns, 'with all his furniture.' 'Keepe good correspondence with the Danes and Portugalls, but trust them not; and have as little conversation with the Portugalls as may be, for they are exceeding treacherous and will poison you if you eat with them, as our people by wofull experience in Siam have made triall with the losse of their lives.' Mr. Johnson may be left at the new factory or not, as may be found expedient; but he is not to be trusted with the Company's cash. Two Portuguese women and [ ] men sent in this ship to be landed at Negapatam or S. Thomé. An endeavour should be made to procure the liberty of Mrs. Frobisher and her family in return.[1] A letter to the Captain of S. Thomé on this subject is sent herewith. If Mrs. Frobisher is not there, the Captain should be urged to write to Goa and Malacca. Should it be decided to leave a factory, Mr. Brewen is to be chief, John Cartwright second, and Richard Robinson third, with four or five other Englishmen. If sufficient pepper be not obtained, the *Hart* should be dispatched to the west coast of Sumatra for a supply, and so to Batavia. While in port the sailors are to be allowed 'four fresh meales the weeke, either fish or flesh . . .

[1] Richard Frobisher, his wife, and two sons went to the Indies in the *Merchant's Hope* and were captured by the Portuguese at Macao. During their captivity Frobisher and his sons died; but the widow was after a time 'by the Captaine of Mallacca sett free in Macassar', in exchange for the two Portuguese gentlewomen here mentioned. She reached Bantam in September, 1625 (*O. C.* 1210), and subsequently got back to England, where she married again (*Court Minutes*, October 25, 1626).

and if butter be deare, let them have salt fish to eat with their rice'. 'You may entreat the Naicks favour to bring from thence 15 bricklayers that have skill to lay plaister of pallist,[1] and 15 coulies to labour, which you shall buy, though they cost 20 rials per piece and upward. And lade as much plaister of pallist and tiles abord the *Hart* as shee can conveniently take in, for wee shall have great occasion to use them.' Private trade is to be rigorously suppressed. *Annexed*: (i) List of goods understood to be made in the Nāyak's country, with the quantities required: 'serassas', 'tape chindes', 'dragams', 'chelas', 'caingouloons', 'samadramoores', 'rambuttans', 'balachus', &c.[2]; (ii) List of goods appointed from Masulipatam, consisting of piece-goods, butter, wheat, and hair. (*Copy. 5 pp.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Captain of S. Thomé, March 27, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part. ii. p. 272).

Send two gentlewomen, who (with many other Portuguese) were captured at Mozambique in 1622 [*see previous volume*, p. 155]. They would have been restored earlier, but first the Dutch objected and then no opportunity of passage could be found. Would be glad if he would in return set at liberty any English prisoners in his power. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

Instructions to Captain John Bickley for the Voyage of the *Hart*, March 27, 1624 (*Ibid.*, p. 273).[3]

To stop at the Islands of Sunda, to cut wood for the intended factory at 'Sericall'. Mr. Johnson will then guide them to the latter port. Authority to govern the mariners, &c. To assist the merchants in every way. Not to meddle with the Portuguese while in the ports of the Nāyak, but in going or coming he is to endeavour to capture any Portuguese vessel he may meet. Diet of the sailors while in port. A piece of ordnance to be given to the Nāyak, if necessary. The ship to go to Sumatra if a lading of pepper cannot be obtained at Kārikāl. Thirty 'blacks' to be procured at the latter place. Not to remain beyond the end of September,

[1] Plaster of Paris. Probably *chunām* is intended.

[2] For these piece-goods see the previous volume, p. 107, and *Letters received*, vol. vi. p. 45.

[3] For a late copy see *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 30.

except in an emergency. To stand always on his guard. *P.S.*—The sailors, &c., are not to buy any goods at Kārikāl until the merchants have agreed with the 'Comitties' as to price. (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the President and Council at Surat, March 27, 1624 (*Ibid.*, p. 261).

Received their letter of December 16 by the *Schoonhoven* on February 22. It would have furthered business exceedingly if the promised supply by the *Reformation* had arrived before the dispatch of ships to Achin, Jambi, &c. The stores to be sent in her will be very welcome. Are glad to hear of the 'plentifull returnes for England this yeare'. Great need of ready money, in view of the probable conclusion of peace with Bantam. Marvel that they have had such meagre information from Surat. Enclose a list of goods required. Four ships have arrived from England this year, viz. the *Abigail*, *Roebuck*, *Hart*, and *Coaster*. They brought good store of money; but it will soon be spent, owing to the high price of pepper, and the necessity of supplying the factories with silver for want of goods. The *Royal Exchange* and *Elizabeth* sailed for England on December 15, followed by the *Royal Anne* on February 25. The *Hart* and the *Unity* are bound for the Coast, the *Discovery* for Achin, the *Diamond* for the west coast of Sumatra, the *Coaster*, *Rose*, and *Bull* for Jambi. Of the death of President Fursland and the 'blody execution of our innocent people' at Amboyna they have no doubt heard. Owing to the many affronts received from the Dutch, it has been resolved to remove from Batavia as soon as a supply arrives from England. Progress of the war between the Chinese and the Dutch. The latter sent home only three ships last year and have as yet received no relief from Europe. Their ship the *Nieuw Zeeland* has been cast away, with the loss of at least 100,000 rials of eight. *Enclosed*: (i) List of goods required from Surat for Batavia: 'cannikins', 'baftas', 'byrams', 'tricandees', 'ardeas', 'hussanees', 'nicanees', 'seribaffs', 'mussafees', 'tureas', 'selas', 'tapechinds', 'braules', 'gageas', 'cassadees', 'caddees', 'gebadees', 'nuries', 'patolas', 'serassas', 'dutties', 'tapsiles', 'chints', 'pilgars', 'muttfones',

'mavies',[1] wheat, and butter; (ii) A similar list for Achin. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Factors at Masulipatam, March 28, 1624[2] (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 256).

Now reply to the letters, dated September 30, brought by the *Ruby*. The factors at Jambi complain of the ill condition of the goods received from the Coast, owing apparently to their being packed while damp; this should be remedied. The *Hart* has been sent to Tanjūr. Mills's gross carelessness in detaining the Nāyak's letter has been very prejudicial. They enclose a list of sorts and quantities of cotton cloth desired. Mr. Cockram has instructions, should he find that he cannot get the expected quantity of cloth at Tanjūr, to send part of his capital to Masulipatam. Their chief hopes for the former place rest upon pepper, of which Mr. Johnson affirms a sufficient quantity to lade the *Hart* may be had in three months at 18 rials per bahar of about 330 lb. They will not therefore need to buy pepper at Masulipatam. The *Unity* is to proceed with the *Hart* to Tanjūr, but to go on to Masulipatam as soon as possible. Errors in the accounts from Pulicat and Masulipatam. Will not in future admit of presents being given by masters of ships. Cannot supply spices, having left the trade of the Moluccas. Would have sent some porcelain, but did not know what sorts would be suitable; so have dispatched a stock to Tanjūr instead. Request the factors to let slip no opportunity of obtaining diamonds, as desired by the Company. Marvel that no news has come from Surat. Enclose a letter for that place, to be forwarded from Masulipatam. The paving stones sent in the *Ruby* were useless and a mere waste of money. Take notice of 'the stubborne and intractable carriage' of Futter and Dod towards Duke; but as the first-named has fallen into such misery, they are inclined to pity his distress, and request that, if cleared, he may be sent hither in the *Unity*. Mr. Dod is to come in the same ship, 'that hee may answeare his contempt before us.' Edward Trafford and Thomas Johnson now sent to be second and third respectively; John

[1] Most of these names of piece-goods have been explained in the previous volumes. 'Turea' is probably the Hind. *doriyā*, a striped cloth.

[2] Sent by the *Unity*.

Hunter may also be retained, if necessary. Enjoin them to refrain from building more than they are obliged, for if Tanjūr affords better cloth than Masulipatam, and the Governor of the latter place continues his insolence, they may determine to remove the factory. The Dutch should be asked to bring the small parcel of English goods remaining at Pulicat to Masulipatam. 'Martavans' [Martaban jars] sent to be filled with butter and returned, covered with 'cairo' [Port. *cairo*, coir or coco-nut fibre] to prevent breakage. Any surplus may be put into 'duppers' [Hind. *dabbah*, a leathern jar], and then the latter into casks, which will keep out the 'cacaroches' [cockroaches]. Their letter sent in the *Wapen van Rotterdam* was answered by the same ship, 'wherein Dedell and Goury [1] (both of the Councell of India) doe go to reforme the disordered estate of their affaires in that place.' If Dedel intends to use violence they must take precautions for the safety of their goods and persons. The Company's orders for the suppression of private trade, sent herewith, must be punctually observed. Supply of fresh meat to the *Unity* while in harbour. The master has been ordered to follow their instructions. Accounts forwarded for examination. (*Copy*. 4 *pp*.)

CAPTAIN JOHN BICKLEY'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *HART* TO THE COROMANDEL COAST (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxvi. p. 26).

1624, *March* 27. Sailed from Batavia in company with the *Diamond*. *March* 29. Anchored at 'Sabakar',[2] to cut wood for building a house for the proposed factory at 'Caracall'. *April* 7. Sailed again, accompanied by the *Unity*. *April* 28. Had a fierce 'haracane', in which the *Unity* was nearly lost. *May* 4. It was debated whether to take out the cargo of that ship and abandon her; but in the end it was decided to endeavour to carry her to her port. *May* 9. Crossed the Line. *May* 21. Saw the land near Tegnapatam.[3] 'Tignapatan hath over yt a greate pagod [4] and

[1] 'Dedell' is the Jacob Dedel of the previous volumes. His colleague was Adriaan Willems Goeree (the 'Gorie' and 'Gooree' of the previous volumes). They sailed from Batavia at the beginning of March, 1624.

[2] Sebuku Island, in the Straits of Sunda.

[3] Afterwards the site of Fort St. David (Cuddalore).

[4] The temple at Tirupāpuliyūr. Later (under date of July 18) Bickley says: 'When you are thwarte of the roade you shall see a great pagod, the which when yt is West and

a whyte howse which is to be sene some three leages of.' 'To the southerd of Tegnapatan some three leages there is four pagodes, as it were four great trees .... This four pagodes is a towne and so called by the name of Quarter[1] Pagodes. Allsoe four leages too the southward of the four pagodes is a towne called Porttanovy [Porto Novo], and three leges too the southward of Porttanovy is a towne called Tremeldanes[2] .... And three leages to the southward of Tremeldanes is the towne of the Danes, where they have there forte, called Trenkcombar [Tranquebar]. And some two leagues and a half too the southward of this forte is the porte of Carracall.' *May* 23. Anchored at Kārikāl at midday. *May* 24. The captain and the merchants went ashore and were kindly entertained by the Governor, 'wee being the first English shipp that had ever bin in theis partes beefore.' He promised to advise the King at 'Tangeur' of their arrival. *May* 26. Put the Portuguese prisoners ashore. *May* 29. 'The princypall of the Danes sent a letter unto our cheife merchante, Mr. Joseph Cockram, that we were best for too departe, for there was no trade there too bee had for us, because they had formed [farmed] all the seaportes of the Kinges betwene Nagapatan and Pullacatt for the use and bennefit of the Kinge of Denmarke; therefore willed us agayne to bee gone, or else they would send us awaye in haste. Wee badd them doe theire worste, for wee would staye in spite of them all, they being three to one. And soe the parttye that brought the letter departed with his answere .... Of the admirall an Englishman was master, on James Mounttanye,[3] the which Captaine Prinn tooke in his voyage of the *Great James*.' *June* 1. 'The Danes sent one of there three ships too us and demaunded of whence wee were. I bad them looke up too the flage; so presentlye hee departed, without any more wordes the one too the other.'

by northe from you, then it is just over the Malloyes [*see* p. 9] howse . . . The Malloyes howse is all very white, and soe it is about the pagod, the which is too bee sene at the least four or five leages of in faire and cleare weather.'

[1] This is probably meant for the Portuguese *quatro* (four). The reference seems to be to the four *gopuras* of the great temple at Chilambaram, which are visible from a considerable distance at sea. Baldaeus (1672) marks 'de vier Pagoden' on his map (but between 'Porte nova' and 'Kolderon').

[2] Evidently Tirumullavāsal, which appears on Linschoten's and Hondius's maps as 'Tremalavas.'

[3] Mountney? Pring's fleet sailed in 1617.

June 2. 'The Governor of the towne of Carracall had received a letter from the King of Tangeur that wee wear very welcome and should have anything that his country did aford, and with all the speede that mought be there should be provision of horse and men for the bringing up of our marchante and alsoe the present the which was sent unto him in the name of our honourable imployers.' *June* 3 *and* 4. The presents were landed, including two demi-culverins. *June* 6. Ten men deserted with the pinnace and went to the Governor of 'Connamotta',[1] who was at war with the Portuguese. Soon after, these men, flying the English flag, took with their pinnace a junk belonging to the Governor of Negapatam, worth 8,000 rials of eight; they then sent a letter to Kārikāl inviting other sailors to join them, with the result that five more ran away. *June* 8. 'Our merchantes went up for Tangeur about the affaires with the King, where they were all ryall[y] entertained both by the King himselfe and also by his noblemen, and were by the King his owne mouthe promised free trade and allsoe that they should have the porte of Carracall at any [? an] easye rate; but the Portinga[ls] and the Danes were greatly agaynst yt, but moste of all the Danes were our deadly and moste cruell enimyes.' *June* 29. A letter was received from Cockram, 'hooping too have all his demaundes by the King granted unto him out of hand;' also forwarding one from Masulipatam, stating that the *Unity* was unfit to proceed to Batavia and requiring the *Hart* to come to Masulipatam to take her cargo and stores. *July* 4. 'I received a letter from Mr. Cockram that he would bee at Carracall with mee very shortlye, for hee could doe no good with the King, because the Danes had given the King great bribes, the which hee had no order too doe as the Danes dyd.' *July* 9. 'At night Mr. Joseph Cockram and the rest came too Carracall from the King, the which would not grante us trade unless that wee would give him 7,000 ryalls of aight rent the yere for the porte of Carracall, the Danes being the cause therof. As for the King, hee cares not whoe it bee that hath his portes too rent so hee maye have for them what hee will demaund, for hee is for all what you will

[1] Not identified. Libenaer found at Tranquebar in 1625 a dozen Englishmen who had deserted from the *Hart*, taking a boat with them (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 224).

give him; and so are all his greate men too. But I doubt the Dane will finde all theis great bribes wanting in his purse very shortlye, if that they have but one shipp com to them a yeare, as heretoofore they have had.' *July* 11. 'Our merchantes were invyted by the Danes too there forte of Trenkcombar, where they did couller there former mallice in givinge that entertainement unto our merchants, the which they did not exspeckt at there hands; for at there coming and goeing they shott of 150 peece of ordinance from there forte and out of there three shipps. This out of there love gave us a plaster for to cure the wound they gave us at the Kings courte.' *July* 14. 'The Danes were invited aborde the *Harte* by our merchantes, but I prevented it by some import[ant]e businesses that wee had too doe that daye, and so were cleare of them; whereof wee weare all very glad soe too bee cleare of there fayned frindeshipp.' *July* 15. The merchants came aboard, but they could not sail because some of the crew were missing. Bickley suspected the Danes of enticing them away, 'by menes of James Mounttany', but this they denied. *July* 17. In the morning the *Hart* sailed. The Danes saluted her as she passed their fort with at least forty guns. That evening they anchored at Tegnapatam, 'right against the Malloyes [*see* p. 14 *n.*] howse, the which is Governour of that towne of Tignapatann.' *July* 18. Mr. Cockram landed, to see 'the Malloyes brother' about some cloth they were to take in. *July* 19. They sailed to 'Poullaserre', or 'Podasera',[1] four leagues off. There is a very white pagoda in the middle of the town. Landing is difficult in the ship's boats; 'but the boates of the town they are bould boates.' *July* 21 *and* 22. Timber landed, 'that wee sould unto the Malloye.' *July* 23. 'The [Nāyak?] or Governor of all the country thereabout[2] came aborde of the *Harte* with divers of his gentlemen, the which we bad very welcome aborde: soe that hee promised our marchant, if so hee would, hee should have a howse and there to settell a factorye in his towne of Pullasera; the which the merchant at present could not resolve him of, but promised the next yeare

[1] Pondicherri (*Pulcharī* in Hindūstānī, *Puthuççeri* in Tamil). This visit of an English ship in 1624 is a new fact in its history.

[2] He must have been a subordinate official, as the Nāyak of Tanjūr appears to have controlled all this part.

too give him a direct answere thereof. And so hee departed aland, giveing us many thanks.' *July* 24 *to* 29. Took in salt for ballast. *July* 30. The longboat was split in going ashore for water, but no lives were lost. *August* 3. The *Hart* sailed. *August* 7. Anchored at Masulipatam, where the merchants landed. Two men ran off with the *Unity's* boat. *August* 9 *to* 12. Landed most of the timber brought from Sebuku. *August* 13. The *Unity* was condemned to be broken up, and her crew transferred to the *Hart*. *August* 15. The Dutch *Friesland* sailed for Arakan. *August* 22. 'This day the principall for the Duch at Masslapatam [died ?], being named Deadell,[1] hee being in his lifetyme a deadly enimye to our natione, as moste of all there principalls are to this daye.' *September* 17. The hull of the *Unity* was sold to the Governor for 100 rials and broken up the following day. *September* 22. The [*Wapen van*] *Rotterdam*, of 1,000 tons, went to 'Narsaparpeta',[2] to take in provisions for Batavia. *September* 24. A Dutch ship sailed for Europe, by whom Bickley sent a letter to the Company. *October* 5. The *Hart* sailed. *November* 20. Anchored at Batavia. (22½ *pp.*)

ANDREW SYMMS'S[3] ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxvii. p. 21).

1624, *March* [ ]. Sailed from Batavia. *March* 31 [*sic*]. Anchored at 'Sabacoore'. *April* 7. Sailed again. *May* 21. Saw the coast of India. *May* 23. Anchored at 'Ciricall'. *July* 17. Sailed again and anchored at 'Tingopotan', whither the merchants had travelled overland. *July* 19. Moved to 'Pollusearea'. *August* 3. Departed for Masulipatam. *August* 8. Anchored in that port. *October* 5. Sailed. *November* 20. Reached Batavia. (7 *pp.*)

[1] The *Dagh Register*, 1624-29 (p. 103), gives the date of Dedel's death as 29 August (N.S. = 19 August O.S.). His tomb (with the same date) is still to be seen on the old parade ground within the Fort at Masulipatam.

[2] Narsāpurpatam, on the Vasishta, one of the branches of the Godāvarī, about six miles from the sea and thirty-nine from Masulipatam. There was then (and still is) a considerable ship-building industry at that place.

[3] He was master's mate in the *Hart*.

Extracts from the Diary of John Goning at Batavia (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 7).

1624, *March* 25 [? 27]. 'The shippe *Hart* sett sayle for Sericall, the Kyng of Tanjoures country on the Coast of Cormandell, to settle a new factory there for buying of both pepper and cloth. In company also went the shippe *Unity*, bound for Masulup[atam], and the shippe *Dymond*, bound for the west coast of Sumatra.' *June* 23. The *William* arrived from Surat, commanded by Christopher Brown, with Edward Heynes as chief merchant. *June* 24. Brown landed and informed the President and Council of the imprisonment of the Surat factors 'for the overplus of reprizall goods by us taken above satisfaction of our former losses by them sustayned, to the pretended vallue of 10,000*l.* starling'; also that the ship was to return to India, to capture the Surat junks and thus force the release of the English. *July* 6. A protest was lodged against the action of the Dutch at Surat in protecting the junks against the English.[1] *July* 12. An answer was returned, 'but the contents dishonestly doubtfull.' *July* 16. The *William* sailed for Surat. *July* 31. The Dutch ships [*Nieuw*] *Bantam*, *Wesp*, and [*Zuid Holland*] left for the same destination. *August* 22. The *Reformation* arrived from Surat and Achin with 80,000 rials. *November* 10. 'The Dutch ship *Wapen van Encusen* arived from Musulapatan, laden with 700 tonns rice and much Coast goods. Shee came thence in June, and brought us letters importing the rottenness of the ship *Unity*, wholy unserviceable any longer, which hath caused our merchants to send for the ship *Hart* at Tanjour to come thither; further, newes of releasment of our merchants at Surrat out of irons and prizon, but still under guard in their howses; allso giving small hopes of investments and returnes to us this yeer from Musulpatan.' *November* 20. 'The ship *Hart* arived heer from the Coast of Coromandel. In her returned Mr. Joseph Cockram and Mr. Georg Bruen, with others sent to settle a factory in the Nayck of Tanjours

[1] The protest is given at p. 171 of the same volume. It is dated July 10. The reply is also entered, together with certain clauses from a letter sent to Surat by the President and Council at Batavia (*see* p. 26). See also *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 222, and series iii. vol. ii. nos. S 4 and T 4; and *Dagh Register*, 1624–29, p. 59.

country, having effected nothing ther, more then the buying in of 19 or 20 bales of cloth ; finding the country to yeeld but little pepper of a very small sort and that allwayes much wett with the fresh water in portage from the upland mountaines. Allso they found the Naick or King very covetous, expecting very great presents yeerly, besides payment of 7,000 rials of eight every yeer for use and custome of his porte Cercall, which he would apoynt for us. Howbeit, they found the port Poodysera, in another Naiks country neerer adjoyning to St. Tome, to bee a fitter place to procure all sorts of clothing, therabout or about Petepoly made, then in the said Nayck of Tanjours land ; and from the Naick of Poodysera they had a wryting giving the English leave the next yeer to come and settle ther, paying only the custom of 2½ per cento, or renting the porte, as wee can best agree.' *November* 25. Delivered to the Dutch a certificate from Masulipatam 'touching the murder of one of our people ther by a scipper of theirs, called Capt. Coper, desiring right for same.'[1] (2½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN PRISON AT SURAT BY PRESIDENT RASTELL AND MESSRS. JAMES, MARTIN, HOPKINSON, HOARE, GLANVILL, BANGHAM, AND WEST, APRIL 3, 1624 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iii. no. 13).

The perfidious dealings of these people, their demands for restitution, &c. appear in former consultations. The President now states that, notwithstanding all possible endeavours, no progress has been made towards reconciliation; the *Blessing* and the *William* have been waiting since March 12 in hope of a settlement, and as bad weather is approaching some decision must be taken regarding their disposal, and the supply to them of provisions, which these people refuse to furnish in any quantity, with the intention of forcing them to lose the monsoon. He therefore proposes the consideration of the question whether, in case they be not allowed to lade at least one of the ships with indigo, they should both attend the Company's affairs in other ports, or whether

[1] See the *Dagh Register*, 1624–29, p. 111. The offender was a Captain Cooper, formerly master of the *Wapen van Rotterdam*, who had now departed for Europe. The Dutch at Batavia professed ignorance of the matter, but promised to transmit the accusation to Holland.

they should endeavour to effect the release of the factors here by seizing the Gujarātī ships on their return. The drawbacks of the latter course are: (1) the danger to the factors; (2) the probability that it will cause loss to the Dutch, who will thereupon retaliate on the English; (3) the doubt whether the junks will return rich enough to countervail the estates of the Dutch and English on shore. These considerations being debated, it is agreed that although there would be a great probability of torture and even death in such an event, yet the factors are willing to risk it, especially as there will be many prisoners taken in the junks who may be held as hostages. Moreover, some such action is thought to be the only means of effecting the release of themselves and their estates. As regards the Dutch, the natives understand that the two nations are distinct: and in any case the present necessity is too urgent 'to bee soe tenderlie fearefull of the Dutches distastes': besides, there is reason to think that the troubles are mainly due to 'their instigacions and abetting', as witness their recent defence of the junks by hoisting their colours on them. As for the presumed poverty of the junks, it need not be doubted they will be rich enough to countervail the English goods ashore, ('beeing per estimate about 26 or 27 thowsand pounds starling at most'), for often one ship from Jiddah is worth more in treasure alone; while as for the Dutch 'wee are noething interessed'. It is true that the natives have offered to permit the lading of goods to a value equivalent to that of any the English may land, but there is no assurance of performance, for though rūnās [Indian madder] has been sent ashore to the value of 40,000 mahmūdīs towards satisfaction of their demands, they still refuse to permit any rice or water to be supplied to the ships. After debate it was agreed as follows by all save James and Glanvill: (1) the choice of a wintering-place for the ships is left to the Sea Council, with the proviso that one or both shall return to this coast as soon as the season will permit (and not later than September 15), both to meet the fleet from England, and to watch Chaul and Dābhol as well as Surat, as possibly the junks will be diverted to the former ports; (2) after the capture of the junks, prize crews may be put into them if absolutely necessary, but proclamation should be made that any pilfering will be made good by a levy on the

crew of the vessel to which the offender belongs; (3) as Saif Khān and the other chiefs pretend to be debating about a reconciliation, it is decided to keep the ships until the 10th present, and then, if nothing is settled, to dispeed them; (4) the present officers in the ships are continued in authority, but Heynes and Lancaster are exempted from the control of any of the captains. *Dissent by James and Glanvill.*—They are of opinion that the junks should not be seized, as probably they will either remain at Mokha this year or return so poor that they will not be worth taking. Secondly, if a fresh composition be made by force, the natives may break it again (as now) at pleasure; while, if they remain obstinate and the junks be carried away, there will be a great risk that the Dutch will be imprisoned and their goods seized, which will give them an opportunity (for which it is feared they are waiting) 'to manifest their affections towards us'. (*Addressed to Captains Hall and Brown and to Messrs. Heynes and Lancaster aboard the ships at the Bar of Surat: with directions that this commission is not to be opened until the ships are ten leagues south of Damān, and is to be kept secret.* 6½ *pp.*)

THOMAS BARKER, JOHN PURIFIE, JOHN BENTHALL, AND JOHN HAYWARD AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, MAY 30, 1624 (*O.C.* 1159).

. . . 'That important and so prosperously effected busines betweene the factors of Surat and the Guzerats' detained the ships there longer than usual; but on January 19 last the *Blessing* and the *William* arrived with a quantity of calicoes, &c., to the value of 224,000 m[ahmūdīs]. Under instructions from the President and Council, the unsold portion was for the most part taken back to India. Owing to fear of the Portuguese, merchants are scarce and there is little trade to be done at Gombroon. Have received from the Sultan their moiety of the customs on the cargoes of four frigates and likewise on the goods of the passengers in their ships, amounting to 185 tūmāns. The proceeds of freight from India on the two ships were 174 tūmāns; and the return freight would have been much more had not the Dutch forestalled them, their ships quitting the port the very day the *William* and the *Blessing*

arrived. The Dutch commander refused to pay the English their half of the customs; so they refer the recovery to the Company. They understand that the value of the Dutch goods landed last year was 12,000 tūmāns, which at ten per cent. (the usual port duty) is 120 [*sic*] tūmāns. 'For this yeares cavidall [capital], in that the Chan of Shiraz at his being in Spahaun had given a firmaen for the freeing them of all duties, the Sultan before our comming from the port did not or dared not to take any notice thereof; but since another commandment from the King and Chan sent to the Governour hath contradicted the former, granting authority to receive custome and way duties; which being made knowne to the Hollanders, they notwithstanding stood out with the said Governour, chusing rather to let their goods be [*sic* ? lie] at port then to bring them up paying those charges; which hee perceiving, and not being able to drawe any thing from them, brake up their chests of money and tooke out for the half custome, &c. belonging unto the Chan d[olla]rs [rials *in margin*] 5,250.' The *Blessing* and *William* left Gombroon on February 25, with 4,878¾ maunds of 'ruhanas' [*see* p. 20] and 54 pieces of watered 'chamlets'. 'The Chan of Shiraz by order from the Shah hath now biult a castle at Gumroom neare the place where the Portugals had their auncient fort, strong by fortifying it with the ruines of Ormuz, laying wast the one and edifying the other, so as it is a misery to think what Ormuz hath been and what it now is, in the towne scarce a stone being left upon a stone; only the castle itselfe untouched, wherein are about 200 souldiers, and cannot but imagine, if the Portugals prevent them not (which is much to be feared), after they have fortified Gumroon and Kishme according to their purposed intents, they will ruinate that also, for now (though too late) they consider how impossible or to what small purpose it will be for them to enjoy that place without the assistance of some other nation whose continuall shipping may by force defend those seas and by yearely traffique from India maintaine profitable comerce if their auncient enemy be not extirped or driven out of the Gulph. This made them (but in vaine) the last yeare endeavour the destruction of Muscat, and of late to gape after Balsara [Basrā], which now the Portugall, seing himselfe deprived of Ormuz, maketh his chiefe place of trade, and where the Baxa [Bāshā], if reports be true, hath promised them the erection

of a castle and given them leave to build monasteries'. . . . (*Copy. 2 pp. The rest of the letter deals exclusively with Persia.*)

RICHARD MONK'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *JAMES* TO SURAT (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).

1624, *March* 27. Sailed from the Downs. *July* 13. 'Mett with weeds called strumblowes[1], a good sine of neerness' to land. *July* 14. Saw the Sugarloaf Mountain. *July* 15. Decided to put into Table Bay, owing to want of water, much sickness on board, and a doubt whether they could reach Madagascar this monsoon. *July* 17. Anchored there. *July* 29. Set sail again. *September* 1. Anchored at Mohilla [Comoro Islands]. *September* 2. Sailed. *October* 14. Saw the coast of India. *October* 15. About five leagues to the southward of Damān they met the *Eagle*, bound in search of the *Anne*. *October* 16. Made sail for Surat. (10½ *pp.*)

ROBERT FOX'S[2] ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xxxix).

1624, *March* 27. Sailed from the Downs. *July* 15. It was decided by consultation to put into 'the Bay of Soldania' [Table Bay]. *July* 19. Anchored in the Bay. *July* 29. Sailed again. *September* 1. Anchored off the King's town on Mohilla. *September* 2. Sailed for Surat. *October* 14. Saw the coast of India between 'John de Vee' [Gandevī] and Damān. *October* 15. Anchored, with 'the Peeke of St. Valentine'[3] in sight to the SE. Met the *Eagle*. *October* 16. Sailed again, and proceeded to Surat. (9½ *pp.*)

WILLIAM MINORS'S[4] ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xli).

1624, *March* 27. Weighed from the Downs. *April* 6. The *Spy* lost company. *May* 12. Crossed the Line. *June* 19. The *Spy* rejoined. *July* 15. It was decided to stop at the Cape. *July* 17.

[1] Port. *tromba* (see Mr. Gray's edition of Pyrard de Laval, vol. i. p. 20).

[2] He was on board the *Royal James*, probably as a master's mate. There is a close correspondence throughout between his entries and Monk's, who was in the same ship.

[3] Mahālakshmī, a mountain about twelve miles east of Dāhānu, is still known to sailors as 'Valentine Peak'.

[4] He was master's mate on board the *Eagle*. From references in his journal (an excellent one) it is clear that he had previously come home in the *London*.

Reached Table Bay, where they found the *Scout*. *July* 29. Sailed again. *August* 2. The *Jonas* lost company. *August* 5. Lost sight of the rest of the fleet. *August* 25. Saw the coast of Mozambique. *August* 31. Crossed the Line. *September* 26. Saw the coast of India near Dābhol. Chased a junk into shallow water. Then drove a country boat into harbour at 'Danday'[1] and boarded her, but 'the multitude of people beate us of with stones and smale shott'. *September* 27. Two Moors of Danda-Rājpurī came on board and offered to procure provisions. They gave information of troubles at Surat. *September* 29. Took a junk, but found it had been already pillaged by the Malabars. *October* 10. Reached Swally, where they found the *Jonas*, the *Blessing*, and the *William*; also four Hollanders, viz. the *Zuid Holland*, *Nieuw Bantam*, *Maagd van Dort*, and *Wesp*. *October* 11. Anchored in the Road. *October* 12. The *Spy* and the *Scout* came in. (17 *pp.*)

CONSULTATIONS HELD IN CAPTAIN WEDDELL'S FLEET DURING THE VOYAGE[2] (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).

1624, *April* 2. Richard Hukely and Thomas Brethers appointed pursers of the *Spy* and the *Scout*. Warm clothing to be issued. John Berriman made second steward's mate in the *James*. A diet table laid down.[3] St. Augustine's Bay appointed the rendezvous in case of separation. Letters should be left there under some tree, which should be marked with LRS. Mohilla, in the Comoros, to be the next meeting-place. Gratings to be fixed in the ships. The stowaways found in the fleet to be given food and clothing, but no wages. (*Copy*. 3 *pp.*)

June 21. The *Scout* ordered to proceed to the Cape with letters. Edward Sewell made boatswain of the *Eagle*. John Phelps, master of the *Spy*, explains his separation from the fleet. Resolved to make the Cape, but not to call there. (*Copy*. 2½ *pp.*)

July 1. The *Star* being a bad sailer and a great hindrance to the fleet, it is resolved to leave her behind, to make her way to

[1] Probably Danda, at the mouth of the Sāvitrī River.

[2] Signed by Thomas Kerridge, Richard Wylde, George Page, Gregory Clement, George Muschamp, Henry Wheatley, Robert Smythe, Daniel White, Peter Bell, John Weddell, Charles Clevenger, John Rowe, John Johnson, Richard Swanley, Andrew Evans, John Carter, and Nicholas Norber.

[3] Printed at p. 163 of vol. v of *Letters Received*.

Surat as best she can. Seven chests of rials to be transferred from her to other vessels of the fleet. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

July 15. Resolved, unless the wind prove favourable for Madagascar during the next five days, to go either into 'Table baye, or into Olde Soldania [Saldanha] baye, which is five leagues from Conny [Dassen] Island NNE.' Many men are sick, and there is a general want of water. The *Star* now sailing better, the chests of rials are to be returned to her at the first port. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

August 15. Discussion whether to go within or without Madagascar. It is decided to adopt whichever course may seem best on reaching the southern point of the island. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

August 31. As the wind is more favourable for the inside course and refreshments are needed, it is determined to proceed to Mohilla. A chest of rials to be opened for the necessary disbursements. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Factors at Masulipatam, June 15, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 284).[1]

Refer to their previous letter by the *Unity*, dispatched on March 30. Desire a yearly supply of 500 or 600 'gunny sacks', and 10 or 12 tons of salt, which is at present very scarce here. The *Charles* arrived on June 11 and brought instructions from the Company to invest 10,000 or 20,000 rials yearly in diamonds; so, if the mine be open, a supply should be procured. 'If diamonds be at the same rates as in the time of Mr. Methwold, wee preferr your imploiements in diamonds before all other investments. The Company have also given order to buy 20 sere of moga [2], which wee pray you send by the *Unity*; and advize withall at what prices the same may be bought when the joncks arrive from Bengala, and what quantity yearely to be had, and inquire (if you can) whereof the said moga is made, how it groweth, and the manner of curing it, for the like is thought to grow in Virginia, which they call silke

[1] Sent in a Dutch ship (the *Schoonhoven*).

[2] A strong coarse silk, obtained in Bengal and Assam from the *mūgā* silkworm. The Company no doubt got their information from Methwold, who in his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda* (printed in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 1626) mentions among the products of Bengal brought to Masulipatam (p. 1005) 'Moga, which is made of the barke of a certaine tree, and very curious quilts and carpets stitched with this Moga.'

grasse.' The *Unity* should be sent off without delay, and should bring some rice and arrack, which are both much needed here. The *Moon* has been repaired. No news yet of the *Reformation* from Surat. Captain Blyth's fleet has safely arrived in England. The *Charles* met the *Dolphin* at the Cape on March 29. The *Palsgrave* and *Lesser James* have reached England. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the President and Council at Surat, July 15, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 292).

From Mr. Heynes, who arrived in the *William* on June 22,[1] they heard 'the untimely newes of your imprisoning, with the desperate estate of our masters affaires in those parts'. This they much regret, 'as members of the same body with yourselves,' and have now returned the ship, as desired, with as good a cargo as could be managed. Refer to Mr. Heynes for details. Some Japan silver and a chest of camphor sent. Forward a copy of their previous letter of March 7 [*should be* 27], by way of Masulipatam; would be very glad of a supply of the calicoes mentioned therein. Nothing has been heard of the *Reformation*, but they hope that the delay is due to her calling at Achin. The *Charles* arrived on June 11, having left the Downs on November 6, 'and at the same time our Prince Charles arrived in the West Country.[2] The match with Spaine is generally reported to be broken off.' By this ship they received a good quantity of provisions, but they much need cables and cordage, and would be glad of a supply from Surat. A pinnace[3] arrived from Holland on June 11, and since then two great ships[4] have come in with store of European provisions. These brought a letter from the English Company, which has been communicated to Mr. Heynes. They parted at the Cape with two other Dutch ships, one bound for Surat and the other for Masulipatam.[5] Intend shortly to remove from Batavia to an island not far off, but must wait for a further supply of provisions, especially rice, which is at present very scarce, owing to 'the Matrams[6] warr'. The Company

[1] This should be the twenty-third: see p. 18, and *Dagh Register*, 1624-29, p. 58.

[2] Charles landed at Portsmouth on October 5, 1623, and reached London the following morning. The *Charles* seems to have started from the Thames about that date.

[3] The *Tortelduif*.

[4] The *Hollandia* and the *Gouda*.

[5] The former was the *Dordrecht*; the latter the *Leeuwin*.

[6] The Sultan of Mataram, the principal native ruler in Java.

directed them to obtain some brass ordnance from Japan; 'but finding those most base and not usefull and that factory dissolved,' they must await a supply from England, unless Surat can spare them a few. They do not require iron pieces. Any superfluous men would also be welcome, for there are not enough here to sail the ships, while the lack of carpenters is so great that vessels have to be left to rot for want of help to trim them. In future any ship for Batavia should come direct, without losing time in touching at Achin. Send copies of their correspondence with the Dutch regarding Van den Broeck's action in protecting the Surat junks against the English. Trust that the assertion that the latter had calumniated the Dutch to the natives is untrue. For their own part, they consider the proceedings of the Hollanders 'as acts of enmity and hostile defiance'; but it would be well not to aggravate matters beyond reason. (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JULY 30, 1624 (*Ibid.*, p. 297).[1]

Enclose a copy of their last letter, sent by the *William*, which sailed on July 15. Movements of shipping. The *Charles* is shortly to be dispatched to establish the new settlement. Beg again for stores and men to provide for their ships. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SURAT AUTHORITIES (*O.C.* 1295).[2]

'A Contract of Peace made with Mr. Rastell, Captain of the English nation, which we for the future do oblige ourselves exactly to observe. 1. It is agred that the English shall freely trade at their pleasure in the ports of Surat, Cambaya, Baroch, Goga, Bengala, Scynda, and in other the cities of the Kings dominions, and that they shall have liberty to import and export all sorts of goods, excepting currall for one year, we promising not to question them either touching the quantity or time, be it silver or gold

[1] Sent by the Dutch fleet (*Zuid Holland*, *Nieuw Bantam*, and *Wesp*).

[2] A copy, made apparently late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. Sir Henry Yule has printed the greater part in his edition of *Hedges' Diary* (vol. iii. p. 174), but he was mistaken in thinking it to be merely a second version of the agreement given in *O. C.* 1179; the latter is of course the arrangement concluded nearly a year earlier (see the previous volume, p. 309). A transcript made in 1789 will be found at p. 213 of vol. i of the *Treaties* series.

or any other goods whatsoever they shall export from Hindustan for their own country, excepting as we said currall for one year, which being expired the import of that also shall not be prohibited. 2. That it shall not be lawfull for either the Governour, the officers or Droga [*dāroghā*, chief or head] of the Custome house upon the pretence of the King or Princes occasion to require the same [sale?] of any goods unto them, intended for their own proffitt; onely what shall be indeed necessary for the Kings use may be taken. 3. That the house belonging to Coja Hossan Allee, wherein they formerly lived, paying rent, shall be continnued unto them. 4. That whatever carts shall be needfull unto the English for bringing of their goods from the maryne of the towne Swally and for transport of goods from the river Tappee and other places, as also water and provissions for their ships expences, they shall be furnished of them without molestation or prohibitition [*sic*] by the Governours of Woorpar,[1] either present or to come. 5. That if any other Christian shall offend any man belonging to the Kings port, the English are not to be questioned for it; but if any English man doe commit any offence they are answerable for it. 6. That noe land customs at Baroch, Brodera, Uncleastar, Kurkeh, Berchaw,[2] places belonging to this King, shall be demanded of them, nor any molestation for matter of jagatt[3] offered. But Baroch being a port towne, though they ship not their goods but bring them thence by land, the customs of that are payable; and order to be given that the English receive no trouble in that perticular. 7. That no body shall enter forcibly into the English house; but if there accurr any accident of concequence, the Captain shall repair to the Governour and accomodate the difference. 8. That their caffelas [*qāfila*, a caravan] shall pas freely through the countrey without molestation; and if any man have any just exception to make against them, he is to appear before the Governour of Surrat and the English Captain, that they be[ing?] made therwith accquainted it may be decided. 9. That whatsoever goods or varietyes be brought in by the

[1] Olpād, to the north-west of Surat: the *Orpār* of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. Swally was within the jurisdiction of the Governor.

[2] Broach, Baroda, Ankleswar, Khirkā, Variao (or perhaps Viāra). See the preceding volume, p. 310.

[3] Hind. *jakāt*, from the Arabic *zakāt*, 'alms' or 'contribution'. Jahāngīr in his *Tūzak* uses it as a generic term for road-cesses (Elliot's *History of India*, vol. vi. p. 284).

English, neither the Governour of Surrat nor the Droga of the Custome house shall detain them, or endeavour to put a price upon them in any place of their own, but at that very instant they shall cause them to be delivered to the owner that they may be conveyed to the English house, wheither whosoever hath occasion to buy may repair. 10. That the English may have the free exercise of their own religion. And in case any quarrell or difference happen betwen English men, their Captain shall decide it. And in case any quarrell or difference arise betwixt an Englishman and a Musselman, the Captain shall repair to the Governour and they together exammine the cause thereof; if the fault shall be proved to be in the Englishman, his punnishment is refered to the Captain; if in the Musselman, the Governor is to punnish him; but if the Captain do refuse to doe justice on his people that offend, the Governour may. 11. That if the Chief or any other person belonging to the English chance to deceas in any part of the Kings countrey, those goods that be in his custody, wheither money, jewells, or other goods appartaining to the English, shall be taken into the charge of any other English that shall be present; no man elce may have to doe with them. But if it should so happen that all the English in the countrey doe dye, so that no one remaines to take those goods left in his custody, in that case the Governor and Cozzee [*Qāzī*, Judge] of the place, takeing an exact accompt of them, shall cause them to be safely housed [and ?] kept untill some other English shall apper to receive them; in fine, to the English they are to be restored. 12. That at all times in case of necessity, wheither in harbour or at sea, you shall administer to the Kings ships all friendly assistance to your power. And as the English are to pretend no right or claim to any ship appartaining to the Kings port, nor to any goods on board them, so if the English in their own revenge do assault or revenge or surprize any ship belonging to the Portugalls, Dean [Deccanes ?], or any other their enemys, the Kings people shall lay no claim to them nor cause any trouble or demand any account of them, nor in any wise take part with any such their enemies. 13. That whensoever the Captain or any other English shall have occasion to go on board their ships, as an acknowledgment of the Governour he shall desire his lycence and not goe without it whilst this our friendship continueth. So doeing,

no person shall be denied or molested ; onely in way of acknowledgment of the Governors authority they shall allwayes on their goeing on board accquaint him therewith. 14. That from whomsoever the English have any just demands within the province of Guzzaratt, satisfaction shall be made them justly. And for whatsoever they shall have returned unto the marchants, according to their severall writeings, they are to receive requittance. And as concerning their request we shall remitt our petition unto the Court for the grant of His Majesties phyrmaund. And for what shall be due unto them in any other province of the Kings dominions from any person, their vackeels [*wakīl*, an agent] at Court is to accquaint the King thereof with [*sic*] and for recovery thereof to petition for His Majesties phyrmaund. Given the 25th day of the moone Shahur Noor Allee, in the 25 year of the raigne of Shaw Jehan Geere.'[1]

Isseff Ckawn, Governor.
Khozzy Mahmud Khossum.
Jam Hooly Beague.
Isshankh.
Allee Hussan.
Nezommadin.
All Khoole Sudra.
All Khoole Mahmud.
Mahmud Suffe.
Ruzza.
Jeloldin Mahmud.
Mahmud Salle Tabreeze.
Nazzerutt Din.
Mahmud Alle Spahardy.
Allee Musshownd.
Sawdut Yaur.
Muddawyly Mahmud.
Mahmudie Ibraim.
Hodgee Adull Nubby.
Hurry Buzzy.
Virgee Vorah.

[1] This date is manifestly wrong. For 'the 25 year' (which is impossible) we must read the twentieth (see the preceding volume, p. 306); while 'Shahur Noor Allee' is probably meant for 'Shahryūr Ilāhī'. It is not easy to work out the details of the *Ilāhī* era ; but apparently the twenty-fifth Shahryūr of Jahāngīr's twentieth year would fall fairly close to the date (September 7, 1624) given by the President and Council of Surat (*see* p. 59) as that on which the matter was settled.

The names attached to the agreement appear to be those of Saif Khān (the Governor), the Qāzī Mahmūd Kāsim, Jam Qulī Beg (the Captain of the Castle), Is-hāq [Beg], Alī Hasan, Nazmuddīn, Alī Qulī Sadr, Alī Qulī Mahmūd, Mahmūd Sūfī, Razā, Jalāluddīn Mahmūd, Mahmūd Sālih Tabrīzī, Nāziruddīn, Mahmūd Alī Ispahānī, Alī Mashadī, Saādat Yār, Mutawallī Mahmūd, Mahmūdī Ibrāhīm, Hājī Abdul-nabī, Hari Vaisya, and Vīrjī Vōra. Several of these names have evidently been misread by the copyist.

WILLIAM MINORS'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *EAGLE* IN SEARCH OF THE *ANNE* (*Marine Records*, vol. xli).

1624, *October* 14. Sailed from Swally. *October* 15. Met the *James* and the *Star*. *October* 27. Off Mangalore a Portuguese canoe brought a present of fish. Heard that the Portuguese fleet had sailed from Goa eight days before. *October* 29. Having reached latitude 12°, they turned back for Swally. *November* 4. Saw forty or fifty frigates close inshore. *November* 5. Anchored off Dābhol. *November* 6. Sent the President's letter ashore. *November* 7. Minors landed with Mr. Loftus. They were well received by the Governor, though he complained of the English taking their ships, and especially of Captain Hall's proceedings. 'They promised us anie refreshing or water, but would have noe commerce with us untill such time as wee had setled a factorie there.' *November* 8 *and* 9. Provisions taken on board. Sailed at midnight. *November* 10. Overtook a Portuguese vessel of 250 tons from Goa, bound for Chaul with coco-nuts, ebony wood, and sandal-wood.[1] *November* 11. Captured two small junks. *November* 12. Put the Portuguese prisoners on shore. *November* 15. Chased a ship, two frigates, and a pinnace. The crew ran the ship ashore and made off in the frigates; but Minors managed to get the ship afloat, and they took her along. *November* 19. Met Weddell's fleet, bound for Persia. After consultation, all the English ships made for Surat, leaving the Dutch to pursue their voyage alone. *November* 21. The *William* and the *Blessing*, hearing the parting salutes and thinking that a fight was in progress, came out to join them. Minors went into Swally and landed the deck cargo of the prize of which he was in charge. *November* 26. Kerridge sent him on board the *Eagle* again, and put a pilot in charge of the prize, to carry her into the river, promising Minors the command of her on his return from Persia; she was, however, cast away on a sandbank in the river and her cargo lost. She belonged to the Captain of Muskat and was of the burden of 350 tons. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

[1] She was renamed the *John*, and accompanied the fleet to Persia under the charge of John Darby.

CONSULTATIONS HELD ON BOARD THE *JAMES* AT SWALLY (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).[1]

1624, *October* 23. Arrangements for provisioning the *William* and *Blessing* for their voyage to England. Thirty-two pieces of ordnance to be allowed for each ship. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

October 27. Arrangements for victualling the fleet for the voyage to Persia. The *Scout* and the ships' boats are to endeavour to recover a boat laden with wine and beer which has been taken by some Malabars at the mouth of the river. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

ROBERT YOUNG AND JOHN WILLOUGHBY AT LAHORE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 26, 1624 (*O.C.* 1167).[2]

Their last was of the 15th present, with a copy of the King's 'furmand'. Since then they have procured the dispatch of two 'haddies', who are ordered to carry to them the royal farmān, in company of John Willoughby, 'Cojah [3] havinge givne them his parwanna to see all thinges restoored unto you and re-established againe in youre formar trad and priviolidges.' The messengers should therefore be acquainted with all moneys unjustly taken from them, either by Safī Khān,[4] 'chuckedares or radarries,' or in Broach for customs, which they are not to pay. If any money be forced from them before the arrival of the ahadīs, the latter should be sent with the farmān to redemand it. Should this be denied, Young should be furnished with the particulars 'under the duscoote and choope of the haddies', when he will 'macke eares to Cojah' for redress. It would be well to arrange that the ahadīs shall be present when the English demand from Safī Khān the 70,000

[1] Signed by Weddell, Clevenger, Hall, Brown, Rowe, Swanley, Wheatley, Smith, and White.

[2] The following glossary may be found useful in making out this letter, which is a good specimen of the jargon often employed by the factors in writing to one another:—*farmān*, a command; *ahadī*, a royal messenger; *parwāna*, a written order; *chaukīdār*, (here) a customs-guard; *rāhdār*, a road-guard; *daskat* (*dast-khat*), handwriting; *chhāp*, a seal-impression; *arz*, a petition; *sitān-barāt*, an order to take; *dastūrī*, an agent's commission; *shash*, a turban-cloth; *duā*, a prayer, or good wishes; *dilāsā*, encouragement.

[3] Khwāja Abūl Hasan. He is often wrongly called Abdullah Hasan in the factors' letters.

[4] Safī Khān had become the Nawāb Saif Khān (see the previous vol., p. 305 *n*.), but the writer has slipped back to the old familiar name.

mahmūdīs, as if he refuses they will be able to bear witness of it on their return to court. On the 17th instant sent a 'setonbarratt' to Agra for 'rupies Jehangeeries 9,475'. This includes 3,000 'rupes casanna'[1] belonging to Mr. Morris Abbot for three emeralds of his sold to Āsaf Khān.[2] Mr. Abbot should be credited with that amount, less four per cent. 'dusturies' and one per cent. brokerage. Late last night they received the Surat factors' letter of September 9, with the articles of agreement with Safī Khān, &c.; also letters from their friends at Agra and Ahmadābād. Were glad to hear of the factors' release and of the restitution of certain moneys, not doubting but that the rest will be likewise returned on the arrival of the ahadīs. Four days ago they saw the same agreements and articles, which had been sent to 'Cojah' by Safī Khān; these, however, came too late for any of them to be included in the farmān, which had been delivered to the English twenty days before the agreement arrived, and 'Cojah' would not alter what had been passed. Any benefits promised in the agreement should be boldly claimed in spite of the absence of a farmān; and should any difficulty be made, Young will do his best at court to settle matters. The great jewel is still on hand. Since its return they have shown it privately to the Governor of Lahore, but he valued it not above 12,000 rupees. Āsaf Khān is determined not to give more than 14,000 rupees, and they think it better to take this price than to have the jewel returned and incur his displeasure, especially as the Turks are daily crying to him for justice on the English, 'throwinge their shashes under their feete and tramppelling uppon them.' He heard their cause, and called upon the factors for their defence. They told him that the Turks were their enemies, and had seized their goods and men, killing some of the latter: that they knew nothing of the present complainants, and they understood that the whole of the cargo taken belonged (like the ship) to Malik Ambar. He was satisfied with this explanation, and said that he would give the Turks an answer at their next coming. The latter had already 'been to Cojah and freaded[3] dyveres tymes,'

[1] According to Mitford (1615) five *khazāna* ('treasury') rupees were equal in value to four *Jahāngīrī* rupees (*Letters Received*, vol. iii. p. 87).

[2] See the previous volume, p. 178.

[3] A verb made out of the noun *faryād*, 'a cry for help or redress.'

but he refused to interfere, telling them 'they weare none of this Kinges people: he had nothinge to do with them'. The broker 'Dongee' [Dhanjī] 'rememberes his dwa'. He has been very useful 'this trubbellsome tyme', and a few lines of commendation should be written to him 'to give him delassa'. Request also instructions as to what should be paid him in requital. Willoughby has been sent down with the ahadīs because 'Cojah Abdilla Hasan' insisted on an Englishman accompanying them. The second ahadī is really sent on business belonging to 'Agganoore' [Āghā Nūr]; but if the charge be somewhat increased, 'wee shall have the better respect in Surratt, knowinge we are againe in the Kinges favior.' Dogs or anything else fit to offer to His Majesty as presents should be sent up. (*Endorsed as received on December* 13. $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ON BOARD THE *JAMES* [AT SWALLY], NOVEMBER 13, 1624 (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).[1]

It is determined not to keep any ship of Weddell's fleet behind to help defend the *William* and *Blessing* against the Portuguese; but if necessary those two vessels are to go to sea until the Portuguese squadron has passed. They are to wait some time in 19° N. latitude, and to return not later than December 10. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL AND HENRY WHEATLEY[2] AT THE BAR OF SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER [15?], 1624 (*O.C.* 1168).

Account of their voyage from England in the *Royal James*. Left the Downs March 28, 1624, and two days later lost sight of the Lizard. Anchored in Table Bay on July 19, and left again on the 29th.[3] On August 31 they reached Mohilla [Comoro Islands], where they obtained some refreshment. Sailed September 2, and on the 11th crossed the Line, with only the *Star* in company. The coast of India was sighted on the 14th of the same[4] month, and

[1] Signed by Rastell, James, Heynes, Hopkinson, Weddell, Clevenger, Brown, Hall, and Rowe.

[2] Purser of the *Royal James*.

[3] There is a 'post office stone' in the Museum at Cape Town recording the visit. The names of the *Royal James*, Henry Wheatley, Richard Langford (his mate), and Edward Smith (purser's mate in the *Jonas*) can be made out on the stone.

[4] Should be October 14.

on the 18th they anchored in Swally Road, where they found the *William* and *Blessing*, four Dutch ships, and the *Jonas*, *Spy*, and *Scout* of this year's fleet. The *Eagle* had also arrived, but had been sent to look for the *Anne*. Notes of accidents during the voyage, defects in the various ships, deficiencies in their provisions, &c. The 'Saldanians' at the Cape proved 'very affable and tractable'. Prospects of trade with them. The Dutch at Surat have suggested that the English ships should accompany their four to Persia, as the Portuguese are said to have strong forces in readiness. To this they have agreed, and are now ready to depart for Gombroon, in company with six small junks of Surat. (*Much damaged.* 5 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *JONAS*[1] AT SWALLY, TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 15, 1624 (*O.C.* 1169).

For the events of the earlier part of the voyage he refers to a letter of June 22 [*not extant*]. They endeavoured to avoid touching at the Cape, but were forced by contrary winds to do so. Anchored there on July 19, and found in the Bay only their pinnace, the *Scout*. By inscriptions on stones they perceived that the *Dolphin*, homeward bound from Surat, had departed in April last; but, although the inscriptions stated that she had left letters, none could be found. They supposed, therefore, that either the Dutch or the Danes had disinterred them. At this place they obtained a reasonable store of refreshing, with the result that their men sick of 'the scurbeck' partly recovered during their stay. The fleet sailed on July 29. The *Jonas* lost company on August 3 in a storm, and made her way alone to Mohilla, where she arrived August 26 and stayed three days. From a letter left by Robert Johnson they learned that the *Royal Anne*, with pepper from Batavia, had been there and had departed towards Surat in a lamentable condition but four days before. They hastened after her, but failed to find her. Reached Surat Bar October 7, and found the *William* and *Blessing* in Swally Road. Two days later the *Eagle* arrived, whereupon she was dispatched to search for the *Royal Anne*; she left on October 14, but as yet nothing has been

[1] This vessel is often called the *Jonah* in later documents.

heard of either vessel. The two pinnaces came in on the 13th, followed by the *James* and the *Star* on the 18th. Defects in the ships' provisions, especially the bread and the beef. The supply of sails too small. At least a thousandweight of the quicksilver has leaked away, owing to bad packing. 'The state of Your Worships' affayres in these partes hath found great alteracion since departure of the *Dolphine*. All differences lately before (upon stopping of the juncks) concluded upon soone after her dispeed were againe called in question, your servants in all places of this kingdome put in irons and imprisoned, and restitucion inforced with sundry extorcions besides, as themselves can best and will noe doubt declare; upon restitucion whereof and further satisfaccion given in sundry kinds, they reobteyned their libertyes and newe articles for confirmacion of your future trade, and are in expectacion of the Kings firmaen (for their better assurance), yet unreceaved.' 'The Redd Sea trade, through Davis his unseasonable robbing of a smale vessell of Aden[1] (as tis imputed), grewe so dangerous to your servants and estate that they would adventure no more thither; and since an accident of greater moment by the taking of certaine Turkes upon a junck of Chaul hath made Mocho unaccessable for us, except you shall thinck fitt to procure the Grand Signours command for remission of the passed and future saufe recepcion; till when Dabull allso, whereat you seeme to ayme for residence of a factorie, will not be worth the charge (except ample trade in Persia should induce it); which, in regard of some late hostile exploytes performed in there harboure cannot untill a newe accorde with safetie be attempted.' There has been a long cessation of supplies to Persia, and little has been obtained there 'to your mayne desires'. However, 'in regard of your advice for farther treatyes with the Chan, triall at Ormus, and consent of service to the Persian in his warrs with the Portingall,' this fleet is to go thither, and Kerridge is to accompany them 'according to your apointment'. He regrets the latter arrangement, both because he has small hope of success, and also because, as Rastell and James intend to leave for England before he can return, it would have been better for him to remain to look after affairs at Surat. Moreover, it is believed that the Khān is with the Shāh at 'Babilon'

[1] See the previous volume, p. 252.

[Bagdad], warring against the Turks; and in any case it is not likely he would grant what his master had denied. As for restitution of the share unjustly detained of the spoils of Ormus, what was taken was immediately divided among the soldiers, and it is improbable that anything can now be recovered. The Persians may be willing to employ the English ships in capturing Muskat, but it is 'a beggerly poor towne, and will never defray the charge'; and the strength of the Portuguese in the Gulf is said to be ample both for defence and offence. This has induced the Dutch ships, though four in number, to join the English fleet in their passage thither. 'Ormus is become a ruyned heape, though the castle fortefyed; which if the Persian be able to keepe, can never be reduced to itts former trade so long as the Portingalls hath eyther strength of shipping or friggatts to intercept the Indyans that shall trade thither; whereby the place will contynue unfrequented and unpeopled, as hitherto it doth, save only by souldiers and some poore people constrayned to live there. So that, if the trade in Persia bee not worth the following, Ormus is poore incorragement to itts contynuance.' Will do his best; but it seems a great pity that the fleet should go thither the last two years (and now again) to little or no purpose. 'Eyther you must resolve to followe that trade or absolutly to give it over.' The Surat factors are doubtful which course to adopt, and have left it to be decided on the arrival of the fleet there. Had the Company's previous orders for the dissolution of the trade been carried out, they would by this time have been free from that country; but the Dutch have sent a good cargo thither, have been fairly received by the Shāh, and both the last and the present year sent round supplies thither, 'which will give cause of question to the world why Your Worships should refuse that which theyr Companie so much pursue'; this seems to him the chief reason for deferring a decision until further orders, which he entreats may be explicit. In accordance with the agreement, 225 tūmāns have been paid to the English on account of the customs at Ormus and Gombroon during the past year. Suggests that the Dutch Company be induced to enjoin their servants here (without waiting for permission from Batavia) to join the English, if occasion be offered, to overthrow the Portuguese and make the Gulf free once more. The *William* and *Blessing* are to sail for

England before his arrival from Persia; and he trusts that he will find sufficient cargo ready here to dispatch the *Eagle* about the end of February. In any case one ship must return as soon as possible from Persia in order to go to the southwards; and he intends to take his passage in her 'to direct your affayres in India'. With regard to goods most suitable for these parts he refers to the factors' letters and accounts; but conceives it desirable to send cloth of gold and silver, pearls, satins, and other goods fit for sale at court, where it is requisite to have an agent continually resident. Comb-cases, strong waters, and knives for presents would also be useful. The main lading of these ships will be Sarkhej indigo. Requests the Company to reconsider their order that a third of all the indigo sent home should be that of Biāna; the latter is a third dearer than the Sarkhej indigo, while the difference of price in England is small. The quantities of calicoes ordered to be provided annually will necessitate the resettling of divers factories dissolved last year, but factors are scarce, owing to so many being either dead or bound homewards; he desires therefore that six or seven 'bred marchants' be sent out to make good the deficiency. If the Company decide to follow up the trade in Persia a fit agent must be dispatched with suitable presents and a letter from King James; also some assistants, there being at present only four besides the principal, who is reported to be dead. The future employment of the ships must depend on circumstances. If the Persians do not want their services, the Commander is willing to waylay the Portuguese carracks at Mozambique. It is not known whether the Dutch will join in this. Wishes to hear whether the Company approve of the idea. Learns that the Danes have in two several years laden a ship of about 300 tons with ebony wood from Mauritius, where abundance is to be had for the cutting; and the Company's present letter mentions that some of poor quality sent home in the *Hart* was sold for 20*s.* the cwt. Thinks a small ship might be sent yearly from Surat thither to procure a stock to be used as ballast in the homeward bound vessels; but desires instructions herein. They should also take into consideration the small stock which will be left here after the departure of the ships for England and the southwards, a great sum of money having been carried to Batavia last year by the *Reformation*. *P.S.*—His

recommendation of the dispatch of 'bred marchants' is not meant to exclude the enlistment of younger men for the junior posts, of whom there is much need. (*Holograph.* 7 *pp.*)

ROBERT FOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE TO PERSIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1624, *November* 8. The *James* left 'Swally Hole'. *November* 16. The whole fleet sailed for Persia. *November* 18. Met the *Eagle* with two Portuguese prizes, one (of 300 tons burden) bound for Chaul empty, the other having 37 horses and a quantity of dates on board. *November* 19. Decided to return to Surat, to protect the *William* and *Blessing* against the expected Portuguese fleet. *November* 20. Anchored, and sent word to the President. *November* 26. Weighed again. *December* 13. The *Spy* and the *James's* barge captured a Portuguese frigate of 70 or 80 tons. *December* 18. Anchored in Jask Road. *December* 20. Sailed. *December* 28. Fired at the Portuguese squadron of sixteen frigates, but the shots failed to reach them. Anchored off Gombroon. (3½ *pp.*)

RICHARD MONK'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xl).[1]

1624, *November* 16. The fleet sailed, in company with four Dutch ships and four junks. *November* 18. Met the *Eagle*, with two Portuguese prizes. *November* 19. Hearing from the *Eagle* that a Portuguese fleet of at least twelve sail was bound for Surat, it was thought advisable to return. *November* 20. Monk was sent ashore to carry the news to the President. *November* 21. He returned with the President and some merchants. *November* 26. The fleet sailed again. *December* 13. Captured a Portuguese frigate of 70 or 80 tons, laden with wheat, rice, &c. *December* 18. Anchored off Jask. *December* 20. Sailed again. *December* 28. Fired at Ruy Freire's squadron of frigates blockading Ormus, but could not reach them. Anchored off Gombroon. *December* 29. Moved nearer the shore. (2½ *pp.*)

[1] Another account by Monk will be found prefixed to his narrative of the fight with the Portuguese (p. 50).

William Minors's Account of the Same Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xli).

1624, *November* 27. The fleet sailed. *December* 1. At night the *William* and the *Blessing* parted company. *December* 12. The *Spy* took a frigate bound for Muskat. *December* 18. Anchored off Jask. *December* 19. Sent on shore and found that the Portuguese had been there 'and fired the towne; soe that most of the people were forced to take [to?] the castle and the rest of them were gonne upp into the countrie'. *December* 20. Resumed their voyage. *December* 28 (?). Stood in for Ormus, 'where wee met our old freinde Rufrero with 17 or 18 friggets to keepe the Persian for [from?] landing one Armooze.' Anchored off Gombroon in the evening. 1625, *January* 1. Stood in nearer to the shore. *January* 17. They went over to Ormus. The *Eagle* was nearly driven ashore. *January* 24. Returned after taking in ballast. *January* 31. The Portuguese fleet came in sight. Prepared for battle. (4 *pp.*)

Consultation held on board the *James* near Damān, November 19, 1624 (*Ibid.*, vol. xl).[1]

Debate whether to continue their voyage to Persia or to return to Swally to secure the *William* and *Blessing* against the apprehended attack by the Portuguese. It is decided to adopt the latter course, and to seek direction from the President and Council for their future action. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Consultation held in Lagundy by President Hawley and Council, December 27, 1624 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 152).

Mr. John Johnson, 'lately arived from Tanjore in the *Hart*, haveing ben entertayned for the furtherance of that fruitlesse voyage,' is permitted to take his passage home in any ship he may choose. ($\frac{1}{6}$ *p.*)

[1] Signed by the captains and masters; also by Kerridge and his colleagues.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JOHN GONING AT LAGUNDY (*Ibid.*, p. 60).[1]

1625, *January* 11[2]. It was decided to punish John Johnson 'for deluding us in the busines of Tanjour, by defalcking his wages'. *February* 14. Resolved to send the *Reformation* to the Coromandel Coast as soon as a further supply of sailors should arrive. *March* 15. Letters received from Masulipatam (by way of Batavia), 'importing the badnes of trade ther,' and enclosing letters from Surat. The latter, amongst other news, mentioned that the *Anne*, sent home from Batavia, had been unable to double the Cape, and had put into the Comoros, having lost ninety men, and only forty-three remaining. Thence she had sailed for Surat, but had not arrived there. *April* 17. Wrote to Masulipatam, expressing doubts whether a ship could be sent thither ; also to Surat and England. (½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN LAGUNDY BY PRESIDENT HAWLEY AND COUNCIL, JANUARY 12, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

John Johnson having demanded confirmation of his wages, it is determined not only to refuse to pay him anything, but to hold him responsible for the losses sustained by the Company in a voyage undertaken on his representations, which were found to be inaccurate. . . . 'Wheras att the *Harts* beeing att Paticera [*see* p. 16 *n.*], uppon the Coast of Cormandell, the Naick of that place proffered the English to erect a factory there, wher they might bee furnisht with all manner of cloth of all sorts and paintings att resonable rates, both made hereabouts and allso brought from the cuntry of Tanjore, which is not farr distant: this matter is therfore thought fitt to bee seriously considered of, that if possible a shipp may bee dispeeded thether opportunelye.' (*Extracts only.* ½ *p.*)

[1] In continuation of the extracts given on p. 18.

[2] The 12th appears to be the correct date (see the succeeding entry).

CONSULTATIONS HELD WHILE CAPTAIN WEDDELL'S FLEET WAS AT GOMBROON, JANUARY 1 – FEBRUARY 10, 1625 (*O.C.* 1173).[1]

January 1. The state of the Company's affairs in Persia considered. It is resolved 'to renewe the Persian trade untill further advice from our masters inorder the contrary, not only in regarde of the prevyledges obteyned but allso for that the Dutch have intruded themselves and scandolizd our intendments unto the Sophie'. As regards Ormus, it appears that the Persians have had hitherto no intention of reinhabiting it, but purpose to make Gombroon the port, having pulled down sundry houses on the island, though a garrison of about 300 men has been placed in the castle, which 'the Portingalls with about 20 sayle of friggatts have beseiged, burnt most part of the boats alongst this coast, and hindred all supplie to there releife; whereby the Companies designe for trade in that place is not now to be prosecuted'. And whereas the Khān has granted to the English the half of the customs at Gombroon (in lieu of Ormus), but the Dutch have refused to pay, it is determined that a written demand shall be made upon them for the amount due. With regard to the request of the Persians for help in capturing Muskat, it is resolved not to deny assistance, because (1) the Company has approved generally of their co-operating in such matters, and they are bound to do so by the agreement for taking Ormus, (2) it is unlikely that there will be any attempt on Muskat this year, for the Khān is engaged in besieging Basrā, and (3) it is advisable to forestall the Dutch, who have solicited the Shāh to place Ormus in their hands. Lastly, it is decided that, as there is no special need of Kerridge's presence in Persia, while he is urgently wanted at Surat, he shall return to India with the present fleet.

January 4 (*Captain Weddell also present*). The Sultan of this place yesterday brought a letter from the Khān of Shīrāz, which is now read and recorded. In this he solicits the aid of the English fleet in the siege of Basrā, according to the agreement, in return

[1] The members of the council were Thomas Kerridge, George Muschamp, and John Bangham, merchants in the fleet, with Thomas Barker and John Benthall, factors in Persia. Nathaniel Halliday acted as registrar.

for which they shall be furnished with money 'to your content'. The matter is debated, and it is decided 'absolutely to refuse itt', as Basrā is part of the Grand Signor's dominions. Captain Weddell declares that such co-operation is not required or implied by the said agreement. An embargo having been laid on the Dutch here, on the pretext of a debt due at Ispahān, but really (as they affirm) because they have declined to give assistance against Basrā, it is considered advisable to defer landing any commodities. In the meantime the frigate captured near Muskat is to be unloaded.

January 7.[1] The Sultan of Gombroon, having received their refusal, has declared that their aid is not required against the Turks, but against certain Portuguese frigates kept near there, and that he merely desires the English to convoy certain vessels he wishes to send. He further desires the loan of twelve Englishmen to sail in those vessels. Both demands are refused.

January 10. Mr. Kerridge draws attention to the quantity of private goods daily landed from the ships. Most of the officers have brought great quantities, and Captain Weddell has publicly declared that he considers it reasonable that they should 'lade there goods so well as the Moores, and that if the Company receaved fraight 'twas all they would require'. After discussion, it is resolved not to interfere, but to demand freight on the return of the ships to Surat. It is also decided to land the Company's goods and embark the silk.

January 15 (*Captain Weddell also present*). The Sultan has demanded that the fleet should stay here to secure the Gulf against the Portuguese, according to the agreement. In reply they asserted that the Persians had failed to observe the treaty, 'Mr. Barker alleaging the Chan of Xeras had accompted unto the King 60,000 tomanes for his moyetie of the spoiles, whereas our masters have little more then 6,000 tomanes for their moyety of the sayd spoyles, besides 900 tomanes for three monthes paie for their shipping, whereas indeed they expected (as reason) to have bene satisfied for all the tyme of there shipps remayning in these seas, being about eight monthes.' Further, although the English were to share in all conquests, the Persians had kept both Kishm and

[1] On board the *Jonas*. Captain Weddell and the masters of the other three ships took part.

Ormus; while the 165 pieces of brass ordnance taken had been very unequally divided. He replied that if they wanted the castle of Ormus they must apply to the King for it; and he begged them to write to the Khān stating their present intentions. This they have promised to do on the return of the ships from Ormus, whither they are going to procure ballast. Mr. Barker is desired in the meantime to ascertain what allowance the Sultan will make per month for the stay of the fleet until August.

January 22. The Sultan has offered to defray half the cost of victuals, pending a reply from the Khān. This is considered a mere device to protract time, but as Captain Weddell seems very willing to spend the westerly monsoon here, it is resolved to refer to the sea captains the question whether the fleet (except the *Star* and the captured frigate) might safely remain in spite of the expected arrival of a Portuguese fleet.

Opinions of the Commanders. Andrew Evans, John Phelps, Richard Swanley, and Captain Weddell are in favour of the ships remaining. John Johnson and Charles Clevenger consider it dangerous, unless the castle of Ormus be made over to them for their defence. John Rowe cannot give an opinion.

January 26 (*Captain Weddell also present*). The Sultan has again urged their stay, implying that their share of the customs was only given in return for their protecting the Gulf. In reply they complained that herein also they had been wronged, seeing that they had only received the moiety of customs on the imports and not on the exports, while the Dutch (whose customs amounted to more than all men's else) had refused to pay anything, 'the King having forgiven them all customes, and the Chan, by his mandatt lately graunted,[1] exempted them from paying any customes unto the English, togeather with all other Christians who should come from Europe.' They added that in any case their share would not countervail the expense and hazard of keeping a fleet in the Gulf. His answer was that, as regards the Dutch, he was willing to detain their goods to force their payment of customs (this the English declined); and as for the customs outwards, they were very small, and he had no doubt the Khān would satisfy the English herein. They thereupon offered to stop

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 230.

for 600 tūmāns a month, which he declared to be unreasonable. Being asked what he would give, he proffered first 100 and then 200 tūmāns ; whereupon the conference ended.

February 8. The Sultan, finding after two days' fighting the Portuguese stronger than he expected, is now very earnest for the stay of the fleet. Resolved that, if he prevails upon the Dutch to remain, an equal number of the English ships will stay on the same terms. The ambassador,[1] who three days since came to this port from Ispahān to go to England, is to be advised to lade his goods on the *James* and *Jonas*, and himself to embark in the *Star*. Factors being needed in Persia, Robert Loftus, George Smith, and John Berriman are appointed to remain, at salaries of ten pounds per annum. A present to the value of 20 tūmāns to be given to the Sultan in return for gifts received. Three horses to be sent to Surat for sale. Thomas Healy, a Dutch soldier entertained in the English service at Surat, who was left in the castle of Kishm, is ordered to return to Surat. Resolved to send to the Khān a letter of compliments only, and to instruct Mr. Barker 'to delay him with pretences untill further answere from England'. Should the castle of Ormus be offered to the English, the Agent is to accept it, lest upon refusal it should be delivered to the Dutch.

February 10. The Dutch having absolutely refused to stay any longer, the Sultan has offered the English 500 tūmāns per month to remain. This was referred to the sea commanders, who now reply that, as they are short of ammunition, and three ships would be no match for the eight Portuguese, they are of opinion that they ought to sail in company with the Dutch. It is therefore agreed to refuse to remain, and to prepare for an early departure.[2] (*In all* 14 *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ON BOARD THE *JAMES* IN GOMBROON ROAD, JANUARY 13, 1625 (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).[3]

Resolved, after taking in water, &c., to go over to Ormus for ballast. Punishment of certain offenders. (*Copy*. $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] His name was Naqd Alī Beg. For his proceedings in England see the *Calendar of State Papers: E. Indies*, 1625–29. A portrait of him is preserved at the India Office.

[2] This is followed by a paper of instructions to Barker and other factors left in Persia.

[3] Signed by the captains and masters of the fleet.

An Account of the Fights in the Gulf of Persia (*Public Record Office: Domestic Correspondence, James I*, vol. clxxxiii. No. 58).[1]

1625, *January* 31. In the afternoon eight Portuguese ships arrived, and anchored under the island of Larak, having 80 frigates in company to tow or reinforce them. The English called their men on board, and put their longboats on shore, to facilitate manœuvring. A consultation was held on the *James*, at which the master of the Dutch admiral and a Dutch merchant were present. It was agreed that the two fleets should stand by each other to the last, but that each commander should act independently. *February* 1. 'About 4 of the clock in the morning we had divine service read, with prayers to Almightie God for victory over our enimies; which being ended, our captaine, as alsoe Mr. Kerridge, called all our men upon the halfe the [*sic*] deck and drank to them, encouraging all of them to performe with alacrity and boldnes that committed to their charg, solemly protesting, for our better encouragment, that, if it pleased God we overcame our enimies (of which he made noe doubt), the pillage taken should be equally and without partiallity devided among all men, share and share like, without the least giving accompt thereof to any man breathing under the cope of heaven. *Ipsum nomen*, the bare name of pillage did soe animate our men that at that instant they severally promised to doe their best endeavours, come life, come death.' Thereupon the allied fleets got under way, two hours before daybreak. The *Spy*, *Scout*, and *Simon and Jude* attempted to cut off four Portuguese frigates, but the latter rowed out of danger. The Dutch admiral, being first under sail, got a league ahead. The *James*, hampered by the lightness of the wind, tried in vain to come up with her; and meanwhile Becker, by setting every sail, managed to draw near enough to the Portuguese admiral to engage. The *Jonas*, being better of sail than the rest, was the first English ship to get into action, and she commenced a duel with the enemy's

[1] The name of the writer is not given, but he was on board the *Jonas* during the present expedition, and he returned to England in the *Star*, as he adds an account of an incident at St. Helena during her homeward voyage. He was evidently a man of superior education, and various indications suggest that he may have been a chaplain.

vice-admiral. The *Star* and the *Dort* next came up, the former engaging the Portuguese rear-admiral, repaying her shot 'with East India profit, three for one', while the *Dort* singled out another ship. By this time the *James*, with her two boats towing ahead, got within range, 'thundring forth such a peale of ordnance which would seeme to have rent the skies in sunder. Then the fight began to wax very hot, fearce, and cruell.' After a time the Dutch admiral fell off, her commander being slain. The *James* pressed forward and took her place; and soon the Portuguese admiral in turn bore away. Then the wind dropped to a dead calm. About one o'clock the *Dort* was seen to be in great distress, being surrounded by three of the enemy, while none of the other Dutch vessels could get near her for want of wind; thereupon the captain of the *Jonas* ordered out his boats and caused them to tow his ship to her rescue, with the result that the Portuguese drew off. About three the *Jonas* attacked the enemy's rear-admiral (the biggest of the fleet) but got a warm reception, several shots piercing her between wind and water; however, 'their payment did far exceed their expectations,' and in a short time her guns were silenced. Between four and five the Dutch bore up to repair damages, whereupon the English did the same. Thus the fight ended for the day. 'The *Eagle* (English) and *Wesop* (Dutch) did little or noe service; the *Star* did not soe well as was expected.[1] In the *James*, our admirall, Captaine Weddall, behaved himselfe valiantly and like a brave commander.' *February* 2. In the morning the wind was S. and S. by W., and consequently the allies could not get near the enemy. The latter, however, made no attempt to renew the engagement,[2] but busied themselves in repairing their damages. 'To our comfort and their sorrow, we saw their reare-admirall[3] rowle by the board her mainetopmast, with part of her mainemast, and alsoe her foretopmast.' As the Dutch were short of ammunition, the English supplied them with 30 barrels of English and 12 of Persian powder, and a corresponding quantity of shot. *February* 3. The pinnaces were sent into port and their men divided among the ships. The latter weighed at four o'clock

[1] This is corroborated by the Dutch account.

[2] One Portuguese account says that the wind was too high.

[3] The *S. Sebastião*.

in the morning and at six began another fight, 'which proved far more feirce and terrible then the first, because we had a fine gale of wind, whereby we could easily work our ships, and a smooth sea, by which meanes we could exceeding well both levell and ply all our ordnance.' The *James* was the first to engage, closely followed by the *Jonas* and the Dutch. The Portuguese admiral had her standard shot away, her sails and rigging torn, and her hull much mangled; their vice-admiral lost her foremast; and the rest were terribly damaged. The *John* (a prize) had been fitted as a fireship for an attempt upon the enemy's admiral, and the *Eagle* had been ordered to guard her; this, however, the latter failed to do, and the crew of the prize, finding themselves in danger from the Portuguese frigates, were obliged to forsake her, after setting her on fire. About four the *Jonas* and the Dutch admiral fell upon a galleon that had got separated from the rest, and she was 'pittifully torne and rent' before she could manage to escape from them. Towards night, the men being very weary, the fight was given over, and the allies anchored between Kishm and Ormus, while the enemy remained at the SE. point of the latter island. During the day the *Eagle* and *Wesp* had again done nothing, and the *Star* but little. *February* 4. The Dutch and English sailed towards the Portuguese, with the intention of renewing the fight; but when day dawned they discovered that the enemy were making off with all speed to Larak. They followed, but could not overtake them before they got into the shelter of 'a barred place' among rocks. The Persian captain of Kishm castle sent to warn the allies that the coast was dangerous, and thereupon they stood off. This captain presented them with 'seven or eight great chargers of pilloe . . . as a token of his love'. 'Pilloe [Pers. *pulāo*], as the Persians term it, is rice and kitcheree[1] sodden together, swimming in butter and intermingled with divers sorts of beaten spices, with currons and raysons of the sun.' A consultation was now held, at which it was decided to stand over to Gombroon; and they anchored there accordingly about four the next morning. *February* 13 (*Sunday*). The English and Dutch, with three 'Guzarat jonks' under the convoy of the latter, departed for Surat.

[1] Apparently *dāl* or some other kind of pulse is here meant, though in India the term *khichrī* is commonly applied to the whole mixture, including the rice, butter, and spices.

The Portuguese also quitted their place of refuge and sailed away in front of the allies. It was supposed that they took the junks for fireships, or else thought that the intention was to sink one of them in the mouth of their harbour and thus starve them out, as the island afforded no supplies. They kept ahead, and the Dutch and English resolved not to meddle with them until the next day. *February* 14. The English were forced to wait for the Dutch, who were delayed by the slow sailing of the junks. In consequence the fight did not begin till two in the afternoon. All the English ships behaved well, except the *Eagle*. The *James* engaged the Portuguese admiral, the *Zuid Holland* the vice-admiral, and the *Jonas* the rear-admiral. After some time the *James* had her rigging so cut that she could not be worked, and dropped behind. The *Jonas* fired a broadside into her antagonist, then shortened sail and reloaded, and then came up and fired again. When the guns on one side grew too hot to be used, she came up on the other side. 'This fight for the time was the hottest of the three; and hotter it would have proved, had not the approaching darknes of the unwelcome night cryed a requiem to our bloudy resolutions.' The scene of the battle was between 'Cape Masadon [Musandam] and Cape Combarrick[1]'. Mr. Phelps in the *Spy* bravely tackled one of the enemy's great ships, and escaped without damage. A consultation was now held and, as it was found that all the ships were short of ammunition, they resolved not to pursue the Portuguese, but to proceed on their voyage.

The enemy's vessels were 'extraordinary great ships and of great force, going and working far better in every respect then anie of our fleet'. The smallest was estimated to be of 800 or 900 tons, while the four biggest were reckoned to be of 1400, 1500, 1600, and 1700. The rear-admiral was the largest of all, and had been 'built upon a carack at Cochin . . . only for to make a battery and to be a barracodo to the rest of her fleet. She was saker, if not whole-culverin, profe in her lower works. This ship did more spoile unto our fleet then any three of their ships taken together.'

[1] This seems to be identical with the 'Cape Mombarrique' mentioned later. It is the headland now called Ras al-Kuh, about 30 miles west of Jask. The name is taken from the Kuh-i-Mubārak (known to English sailors as 'Bombay Rock'—evidently a corruption of 'Mombarrique'), which is a conspicuous landmark and is situated some three miles north of the cape.

Some prisoners stated that the crews numbered from 500 to 800 men in each ship, including 200 English, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch 'runnagados'; also that the Portuguese general, 'Don Alva de Bottela, nere kinsman to the Viceroy of Goa, a stout and expert soldier' (who was reported to have been killed in the second fight[1]), had insisted on having none but Europeans. The Portuguese were said to have lost a thousand men, besides those wounded; and certainly they must have suffered severely, owing to the crowded state of their vessels. According to rumour, Ruy Freire was in command of the vice-admiral,[2] seeking to redeem his former disgrace; and Weddell and others thought that they recognized him. During the three fights the *James* lost 13 men, the *Jonas* 11, the *Star* 4, and the *Eagle* 1; total, 29. The Dutch had 45 killed, including their commander.[3] The allies fired 11,000 great shot, and broke 7 or 8 guns. The English ships mounted 141 pieces of ordnance, viz. the *James* 48, the *Jonas* 44, the *Star* 27, and the *Eagle* 22; while of the Dutch the *Zuid Holland* and *Bantam* carried 46 guns apiece, and the *Dort* and *Wesp* 24 each, or 140 in all.[4] (7¼ *pp.*)

RICHARD MONK'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHTS (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).

1624, *November* 17. Captain Weddell's fleet sailed for Persia in company with four Dutch ships. *November* 19. They met the *Eagle*, bringing two prizes and news of eight Portuguese galleons having left Goa for Persia. The English thereupon decided to return to Surat, fearing for the safety of the *Blessing* and the

[1] The rumour referred probably to Francisco Borges, Botelho's chief officer, who was killed in the second fight. In the third Botelho himself was wounded, and his nephew, Jeronimo, was killed.

[2] This was not the case. He was prominent in the fighting, but his vessel was only a galliot or a frigate.

[3] The Dutch account states that 74 were killed in the two fleets and about 20 injured; adding that they heard at Surat that the Portuguese had taken 400 men into hospital at Muskat, and had lost quite 350 in the three actions.

[4] John Taylor (see the Introduction) prints, from information supplied by a Frenchman named Hillion who was in the Portuguese fleet, a list of Botelho's vessels and their armaments. In this the number of guns is shown as varying from 22 in the four smaller ships to 48 in the admiral, or 232 in all, and the number of the crews as ranging from 200 to 350, totalling 2,100. According to his account the number of Portuguese slain was 481; but apparently this was an exaggeration.

William. November 21. Met those two ships. The whole fleet anchored off the Bar of Surat. *November* 27. Having sent one of the prizes into Surat river, and fitted the other to accompany the fleet to Persia, they all sailed. *December* 1. The *Blessing* and the *William* quitted the fleet. *December* 28. Reached Gombroon, where they found the Dutch ships, who had arrived fourteen days before. 1625, *January* 31. Saw in the offing eight great ships and fourteen frigates. *February* 1. The English and Dutch made sail and fell upon the Portuguese. 'Without any wordes or parly of ether wee tanguled and mixed our fleetes one with another . . . ashooting pellmell one aganst the other. Our ordinance went of licke musketes; the dromes beate, and our trumpeters sounding, and the flying shoot tearing each other[s] sayles and rigging macking such a wherling noyse in the ayere, and our men courragiusly chering oursellves with a hubbub, shouting, whisling, and stiring in there severall places, had not the lest thought of feare, but laded and discharged there ordinances at the ennymie. The fight continued hott and fearse one bouth sides. Somtimes wee should perceve them indever to beare away, and somtimes wee should dissarne a mast fall by the bord. These thinges did incurrage us and macke us hollow and singe out for joye, that wee ware as merrie in the fight as if it had binne in [*sic* ? no] matter of consequent; insomuch that sartane Portingalls wich wee had formerly tacken, being then in cheanes, tould us wee fought as thought it had bine a Maye game, not dreding nor regarding our lives in so good a cause.' The engagement lasted from eight in the morning until five in the evening, with a loss of six men to the English and as many to the Dutch, including their commander. The opposing fleets then separated and anchored some five miles apart. The Portuguese rear-admiral (the largest of their ships) had her mainmast and foretopmast shot away. *February* 2. A calm prevented the allies from renewing the engagement; so the time was spent in fitting up a prize [the *John*] as a fireship, and Mr. Darby, her master, with eight or ten volunteers, 'undertooke to clape her abord the admirall of the Portingall[s] hause and there to give fier to her.' Weddell promised them 100*l.* if they effected this, and lent them his barge in which to escape. *February* 3. About seven in the morning the English and Dutch weighed and attacked the

enemy, 'our ship faierly uppone the admerall; the *Jonas* and the rest uppon others. Thus wee fell to it againe, discharging our broadsides as fast as wee coulde laied them and worck them and trime our sayles, having a good gale of wend, wich wee wanted the first fight. Somtimes wee should have three or four or five at a time uppone us, which wee could pase throught with litell hurt, giveing broadeside after broadside, and ware not answared above one in tenn. Our ship being allmost borde and borde, wee could not perceve a man stirring. In this brunte or skermish wee raked often throught, tearing there riging and sayles, battering them extremely, the enimie scarce shotting a shoot as long as wee ware nere him, butt falling of and coming on, and then haveing better ordinance then wee made there advantage and did us all the harme wee received at lenght; soe that wee doe conceave that when thay were nere us thay stowed themsellves. . . . In the intrem our prize, who was fitted for the stratagem aforespecified, being a bad goer, was a pritty distance from the fleet. Our enimie, perceving her thus feare severed, sent his friggets, being fourteen, all well apoynted, to sett uppone her, intending to cutt her of the fleet, who weare ferse in fight with the galloins. Mr. Darby, the master of her, perceving of the friggats to mack towardes them, and knowing unposibell to resiste them or accomplis his acsigne [i.e. assigned task], caused his men presently to put themsellves with himeselfe into the barge, and soe gave fier to the trayne, and soe outrun the friggats and cam abord our shipe with safetie, leaving the prize all one ablazing fier and so that the friggates durst not com nere the vessell. The fight continued as bludy as it was at the first, our shippe being imployed uppone one shippe or other all the whille. . . . Itt cannot bee but wee kilied them many men; the durance of fight was such a thing as it is thought to be one of the greatest that ever was fought, the sea being all as callme and smooth as the Themes, and wee continually bord and bord. But about six a clock in the evening the enimye withdrewe themsellves from us, and wee wanting cartrages (having not above a hundred left), wee ware willing to give over for that night.' *February* 4. The Portuguese ships were towed by their frigates to Larak. The English and Dutch followed, but dared not go too near, as they had no pilots and feared the rocks and shoals; so they returned

to Gombroon. *February* 5. The Persian ambassador for England had by this time arrived. A few days later he embarked on the *Star*. *February* 13. The Dutch and English fleet, with three junks in company, sailed for Surat. The Portuguese weighed and made off ahead. The allies kept them close in chase, but it was night before they could fetch them up. *February* 14. Some delay was caused by the Dutch ships being far astern, but on their coming up the chase was resumed. About one o'clock the *James* ran alongside the Portuguese admiral, and a warm engagement ensued. 'So the fight continued very what [*sic* ? hot] one bouth sides untell darcke night, and then wee lefte them all tatterde and toweren, macking an acount the next morning to have the tother od bought with them; but in the night thay altred there course for Muscate.' It was therefore decided, as the season was growing late and their ammunition was far spent, to stand away for Surat. Two of the English and one of the Dutch ships showed little readiness to close with the enemy, and were of no assistance. The *James* had thirteen men killed and hurt, the *Jonas* twelve, the *Star* three, and the *Eagle* one. The *James* fired 550 shots the first day, 1,112 the second, and 360 the third; total, 2,022. *February* 29 [*sic*: *see* p. 54.] The *Jonas* went on ahead to Surat. *March* 4. Saw the coast of India. *March* 5. Anchored outside Swally Road, intending to enter the port next day. (4 *pp*.)

William Minors's Account of the Fight and of the Return Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xli).

1625, *February* 1. The engagement commenced about seven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In the afternoon the Dutch commander was slain, 'beinge so much lamented by Dutch and Englesh, in respecte that hee had shewed himselfe soe valient and maintained that dayes fighte with as much resolucion as mighte bee.' On board the *Eagle* the carpenter's chief mate had his thigh shot off. *February* 2. The wind was with the Portuguese, but they made no attempt to renew the fight. *February* 3. Weddell in the *James* attacked the Portuguese admiral, 'beinge bravely seconded by the *Jonas* and the Dutch.' The *Eagle* was told off to convoy the prize, which had been fitted

as a fireship; but, owing to 'contempte or cowardize, which are the two basest ornaments in warr', she failed to do so, and the prize had to be fired and abandoned. *February* 4. The Portuguese took refuge at Larak, 'our admiral and the Dutch admirall giveinge them each a peece of ordnance in scorne.' *February* 13. The fleet sailed from Gombroon, whereupon the Portuguese also got under weigh and kept ahead. *February* 14. The English were forced to wait for the Hollanders. The Portuguese 'payde away, vearinge to delay time for our cominge upp with them. It was four of the clocke in the afternoone before wee got up with them. Our admirall, with the *Jonas* and three Hollenders, gave them a brave farewell, which continued untill seven at nighte, at which time the Portingales stoode in for Suar [Suhār] and wee one our course for India. In all this fighte there was slayne outrighte 29 (besides others that were dismembred) of the English, and more of the Dutch by three or four.' *February* 19. A small vessel was captured, bound from 'Sindy' [Lārībandar] to Muskat; but she was released because she had 'bannians' in her. *February* 23. Sighted 'Calliott' [Kalhāt], on the coast of Arabia. *February* 27. The *Jonas* went on ahead. *March* 1. 'This day, beinge Shrove Tuesday, wee had noe pancakes, by reason it was taken for the 29th February and consequently made two leape yeeres togeather, vizt. anno 1624 and anno 1625. This computacion was a pestilent feaver which overspread the moste of the fleete.' *March* 4. Saw land near Diu. *March* 7. Anchored in Swally Road. 'At noone the merchauntes came downe.' *March* 18. The *Eagle* left Swally, being under orders to convoy a Surat junk on part of her way to the Red Sea. *March* 19. They sailed together. *March* 21. 'Our master made two shott at two friggets, which were at leaste half a leage distante from us, but the shott did not reach above two-thirds of the waye, at which length hee loves for to fighte.' *March* 22. Quitted the junk and returned. *March* 24. Minors ordered by consultation to move from the *Eagle* to the *Scout*, bound for Socotra and the Comoros in search of the *Anne*. *March* 25. He went on board the *Scout* accordingly. (4½ *pp.*)

THOMAS BARKER AT GOMBROON TO JOHN BANGHAM, FEBRUARY 12, 1625 (*O. C.* 1178).

Has put on board the *James* a bale of carpets on his private account. Begs that he will sell them at Surat for him; they cost about forty tūmāns at Ispahān, and should fetch at least sixty. The money should be invested in sugar, sugar candy, steel, piece-goods or indigo, to be sent by the next fleet. In case of Bangham's death, Kerridge is entreated to see to the matter. (1 *p.*)

ROBERT FOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *JAMES* FROM PERSIA TO SURAT (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1625, *February* 13. The English and Dutch fleets, with three Surat junks, set sail from Gombroon. *March* 4. Saw the coast of India. *March* 5. Anchored a little short of 'Swally Hole', intending to enter next morning. (2 *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND RICHARD LANCASTER, ABOARD THE *WILLIAM* AT SWALLY, TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 14, 1625 (*O. C.* 1180).[1]

Refer to their [*missing*] letter by the *Dolphin*, which sailed on January 10, 1624, and to the Court's dispatch of March 15, 1624, received by the *Jonas*, which arrived on October 7, followed by the rest of the fleet on the 18th. At the time of the *Dolphin's* departure, the *Reformation* was alone in port, 'with the greatest part of the Guzeratts treasure aboard hir, deteyned by the owners thereof (who were many in number) through their slack repaire to be present at the particular tale and weying of their monies; which, after much difficultie and secrett repining of the intressed, was finally performed, and the shipp dispeeded the 27th January following.' She carried 80,000 rials of eight in money, besides nine chests of coral taken out of the Gujarāt junks, and certain Mokha remains to the value of 35,545 mahmūdīs, 5½ [pice]: total value, 435,628 mahmūdīs, 29½ [pice]. She was destined first for Achin and then for Batavia. Meanwhile arrangements had been made for procuring lading for the *Blessing* and *William* on their return, with a view to their dispatch to England in March; 'the goods being provided

[1] An abstract of this letter forms part of *O. C.* 1181.

and even ready for transportacion [had] not the whole estate and frame of our bussines then altered, [by a] perfidious combinacion, even of those who had but lately taken their accursed oathes to the contrary, having with their generall certificates, peticions, and exclamacions at court prevayled [with] the King for four severall firmanes (in confirmacion one of [an]other) to the aprehending of our persons, restitucion of our recoveries, and lastlie our expultion out of his countrie; in prosecution whereof there wanted not that mallice, terrour, reproch or disgrace that the spight and ranckour of an offended multitude could ether invent or inflict, not respecting the person of anyone more then another, but alike extended to all; all of us imprizoned and in irons, to be the shamefull subjectes of daylie threates, revilings, scornes, and disdainfull derizions of whole rabbles of people, whose revengefull eyes never glutted themselves to behould the spectacle of our mizeries; our warehouses, chambers, and private mens chests &c. in the meane time ransackt, and all that was gould or silver posest, made sale, and disposed of at their pleasures towards sattisfaction of the marchantes pretences, whom nothing contenting but mony, were soe farr the agravaters of our suffrings as that torture itselfe was the next wee howerly expected, to exact the confession of treasure. To pack and stiffle us togeather into close and aireles, unholsom corners, and to abridge us of naturall sustenance, were their common practizes and refuge whensoever uppon the least occasion of standing out with them they had intent to constraine our yeelding, which by this course of famishment was against the power of nature in us to contend in; nor would our apeales to the King be listned to, or was there any releefe to be thence expected when Abulla Hussen[1] (not only their favourer and our auntient invetterate enimie for the actions of Sir Henry Middleton, but likewise powerfull in court and sole director of the kingdom) was their maine supporter and the apointer of these our troubles. Remayning thus in this hopeles plight, especially Mr. Young not at court arived, the Hackeem[2] (our frend) of purpose disgraced to prevent his accesse to the King, your bussines at a dangerous stand through the kingdom, and the aparent losse of a monsoone in hazourd if som speedie recourse of remydie were not resolved on to rejoynt againe our

[1] Khwāja Abūl Hasan: see p. 32, note 3. [2] See the previous volume, p. 273.

proceedings; and further seing them obstinately bent to be sattisfied, and wee unfurnished of monies to accomplish it, wee yeelded their restitucion in goods, comprehending our greate parcell of currall, which they would have willinglie avoided had wee had but specie in lew or goods of more quicker dispatch to have wrought uppon, but perceaving the contrarie and our resolucions firme not to land a pice of monie out of the *Blessing* and *William* (who by this time were arived out of Persia), they contented themselves with commodities, as pepper and rohanas [*see* p. 20] at about 15 per cento les then its vallew, other goods (of noe greate amount) to more disadvantage, but the maine was currall, which they lessned to 30 per cento les then the rate which our inforced agreementes had imposed. Whilst this was but yett in treatie, the captains and merchantes aboard, having had notice of our restraintes, and finding three of their smale junckes at barr then readie for departure towards Arabia, intended their arrest: but, aplying themselves thereunto, our falce harted frinds the Dutch interposed, who, not having sufficient strength of shipping to confront us, found a trick to supplye that want, by advancing in each severall juncke their Princes collours attended with only three of their people in each in the way of protection, notwithstanding a protest made against them, which they answered with a peremtory persistance, maintayning the act to be lawfull, as the coppie heerewithall will informe you. This insolence of theirs wee might have curbed at that time, but the povertie of those junckes contradicted it. They were but poorely fraughted in compare to your then estate in the country; which, with the consideracion of their greater wealth abroad, the expected richer retourne of those others going out, and our hopes that by their voluntarie dismission wee might begett in them an opinion of our faire intencions, thereby to reconsile the sooner and not to loose our monsoone for England, wee thought it providence to awaite fitter opertunitie, and by our instant releasing them to imprinte a conceiption in the Dutch that (notwithstanding that the reasons alleadged were the only motives thereunto) that their meere protection was the cause, and that if aproved unjust and contrary to the meaning of your articles, you might have pretence of domages against them; which wee referr to Your Worships prosecution. The junckes thus departing, and

the Hollanders glorying in their villanie, wee indeavoured (what was possible) a finall conclusion, that the *Blessing* and *William* might be lading; when in the verie instant came against us certaine Turkes (passengers and intressours in that juncke of Chaule by Captain Hall surprized) with their demands of eighty-five thousand ryalls of eight; which they hottlie pursued by vertue of a passe to that vessell given by your factors at Mocha, when for themselves and your estate it had not beene safe but dangerous as then to have denied it; that with a promised bribe to Sife Caun of one halfe for recoverie of the whole, and the assistance of som principall marchantes of the towne, had most doubtles prevayled, had not a bribe of our owne prevented it. It was a costlie one (wee must confesse), but seing the cause on both sides meerely sett to sale, the [ ] whereunto wee were constrayned and the power of the p[erson?] corrupted, as being not aloane viz-regent of this pro[vince and] our originall persecutor, but likewise him unto whom was to be referred the contriving, ordering, and compounding of our businesses, and without whose aprobacion to the conclusion thereof there could be noe expectacion of resettling, averred (you will perceave) by Mr. Younges advises from court, where his complaints and solicitings were utterlie rejected with a peremtorie referrence as aforesaid. For these reasons, seing noe other refuge to fly unto, wee perplexedlie yeelded, even to the amount of his owne exaction, which was seventie thousand mahmodes; but upon further condicions that, besides his defending us from the Turkes, hee would likewise licence the lading of our indicoe; which hee faithfullie promised to accomplish, yett as faithlesslie delayed the performance, that meerelie by deteintion of soe much estate of ours in the countrye, their owne abroad might be the better by that meanes secured. Nevertheles, uppon hopes of his promise our shipps still awayted till the perrills of the seazon admitted not their longer attendance; soe the 20th of Aprill, having with great difficulty replenished themselves with water (which for a while was utterly denied them), they departed emptie, the *William* for Batavia and the *Blessing* towards the coast of Arabia, leaving us distressed, still in prizon and irons as they found us. Howbeit not manie daies after were freed of our fetters (yett still under guard); and in June then following the Turkes

had their answeres, with permittance only of apeale to the King, in whose presence since with many clamourous outcries they have apeared, complayned, and our English caled to give answere, which by the meanes of Sife Cauns and these marchantes attestacions, with the countenance of Asaphe Caun, our ould frind, to assist us, tooke such good effect as hath frustrated their hopes of prevayling; both the King, Abulla Hussene, and Asaph Caun having oft repulsed them, pronouncing that, both parties being strangers and the act done out of his territories, to have nothing to doing [*sic*] in the bussines. In this meane time, notwithstanding our comission given to the *Blessing* &c. for the seazing of all Guzeratt junckes (though therein wee had suffred torture for your sakes), not knowing as yett to what extent of domage ether from the Kings displeasure or other sinister courses Your Worships estate might be exposed, wee earnestly indeavoured the reestablishing of your affaires againe, though but on former tearmes, against the ensuing monsoone, for prevencion of further prejudice, as well by the suspending of [Your] Worships trade whilst the Dutch would have solelie enjoyed it, as the losse of a double monsoone both for England and the southwards, and the mizerable straight whereunto your shipping would be consequentlie driven, through the want of water and provisions, in case of fruteles contending. In conclusion, by the meanes of our great bribe, the mediacion of som marchantes, with our owne peticions, sollicitacions, and complaintes, interlynde (as occasion) with threates if our resettling were not seazonably granted, after seven monthes wretched imprizonment wee, the 7th September last, came to a finall period and agreement, wherein for matter of priviledges (whereunto Sife Caun himselfe with som twenty or thirty of the principall marchantes &c. of this place have both signed and subscribed) the coppie of our articles heerewithall (translated) [*see* p. 27] will shew them most reasonably favourable, and not much differing in effect from our formers, the renting of customes excepted.' The losses may appear great, but they practically amount merely to a restitution of the money forced from the natives in 1623, while the reduction in the price of the coral still leaves a profit of fifty or sixty per cent., besides the benefit of a ready-money sale in lieu of waiting three years for the completion of the payments. The loss of time was more than countervailed by

the voyage to the Red Sea and the capture of the Chaul junk; while as for the *William* and the *Blessing* losing the monsoon, it is probable that that would have happened in any case, owing to the lateness of the season. Now that an agreement has been made with the authorities, 'wee have found them more tractable and readier to doe justice then was usuall; have by vertue of comand from court recovered 6,800 m[ahmūdīs] from our guardians, which they exacted in time of imprizonment to defend our boddies from torture; and now lately received the Kings firmaune, brought downe by a couple of haddees his servantes, confirming and comanding our re-establishment with faire usadge in our trade and residence, and restoracion of whatsoever hath beene wrongfullie extorted from [us] (wee meane bribes and such like, in time of troubles), which [the] haddees have order to see effected; and might now be pro[secuted?] against Sife Caun for the 70,000 m[ahmūdīs], were hee not yett to p[owerful] to bee dealt withall, and the cheefe officers of Surratt [being?] his creatures and dependantes, who in such case, uppon our [present?] dispatches and other important occasions, might more dam[age] your affaires then thatt bribes recoverie would advantage you. Besides, you have the same securitie for your estate as formerly, the same proffitts and conveniencie of trade, as well for English retournes as the supplying of Persia (if that bussines renewed) and the southerne partes with Indian clothing, which for the latter is a thing not a little importing your benifitts.' If, however, these considerations are not judged sufficient to deter 'a just revenge on these people', full account should be taken of the difficulties in the way of effective action. In the first place, it would be necessary to break off trade and maintain active hostilities for three or four years, until the Indians were so humbled as to make them sue for peace, for at present they believe that the English cannot do without the trade, and 'till to their cost are made sincible of the contrarie. will notwithstanding all oathes and writings (even from the King to the begger) make breach againe uppon the first occasion of advantage'. Secondly, the natives might seize the goods, &c., of the Dutch, and in that case the latter would lay their damages at the door of the Company. Thirdly, the lives of all Englishmen on shore would be in imminent danger. Lastly, any project for

seizing the junks might fail of success, owing either to some of the latter arriving before the English ships, or to others returning (if at all) with such small cargoes as to make the enterprise unprofitable. However, they desire to leave the decision entirely in the hands of the Company. To resume their narrative of events. The *Blessing* wintered at 'Maseria' [Masīra], on the coast of Arabia, on leaving which she sighted four galleons, exchanged shots with one of them and got clear of the rest. The *William* spent the season at Batavia, where she landed in money and goods 154,401 [mahmūdīs] 16½ [pice?]. Both returned to Surat in September, and after them arrived the *James* and her fleet. The *Eagle* was sent to look for the distressed *Anne*, but after going as far as Cape Comorin she returned without news of the missing vessel, of which nothing has yet been heard. The *Eagle* on her way back captured two Portuguese vessels; the one a good ship, though with no lading but coco-nuts; the other, from Muskat, had in her 37 Arabian horses, besides dates, rūnās, &c., the total value being estimated at 41,470 mahmūdīs 11 [pice?]. Her cargo had been landed, except part of the dates, when she ran aground in the river and was lost. The *James* and her fleet had meanwhile gone to Persia; and the *Blessing* and the *William* had put out to sea in order not to be in the port when 'the Portingall armadoe' of eight galleons and other smaller vessels came by. Since the arrival of the *James* 'wee have not only supplyed all former residences with a fitting competencie of factors unto each and given the same forme and order of establishment to your affairs as heeretofore, but besides the payment of our debts in the country (which that specie left at southwards by the *William* should have discharged) have invested for Acheene and Batavia to the neere vallue of ten thousand poundes &c. in such Indian clothing as for both quantitie and quallitie have beene lately from thence required; and for England in peper, indico, and callicoes &c. to the amount of 19,500 pounds more.' They hope to dispatch one vessel home by the end of this month at the latest, in company with two of the Dutch ships. Of the goods and jewels taken to the court and Agra by Robert Young &c., the broadcloth (at the latter place) goes off slowly, 'by reason partlie of our troubles, but cheefely the Kings soe farr remotenes and unconstant ranging, where to follow him with goods of like

bulke were both chargeable and almost impossible by the want (somtimes) of carriadge.' More than half is still on hand, and their chief transactions have been in mercery and jewels, 'all sould for the most part to Asaphe Caun at cheape rates to purchase and preserve his favour in our heate of troubles.' Particulars of these sales, including three emeralds belonging to Morris Abbot, which realized 2,850 rupees net; at 6*s.* the dollar the amount due to him is 398*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* [*see the previous volume*, p. 178]. The damage to the calicoes must have happened on the way down. They were promptly embarked on receipt, and were also carefully guarded from theft meanwhile. Any pilfering was done by the sailors, who also stole 178 bars of lead and sold them to native merchants. The latter were imprisoned but could not be brought to justice for want of evidence. In future one man will be placed in charge of the court of guard and held responsible for losses. The Company's complaints regarding the quality and price of the calicoes, and their imperfect packing, have been communicated to the factors at Broach, Ahmadābād, Agra, and the Court. The approbation expressed of the pepper lately sent home, and the demand for an increased quantity, have led them to purchase about 280 tons at 16 mahmūdīs 'this maund'. They hope to make Surat a pepper mart, and to procure more than double that quantity yearly. Next year they intend to 'experience' the coast of Malabar for the same purpose; possibly Dābhol also. Less cotton wool has been provided, as pepper makes more profitable stowage; but what is sent is of the best quality. They will also provide broad and narrow 'baftaes', 'dutties', white, brown, and 'watchett' [i. e. blue], and 'sereeas', both plain and striped for 'napkening'. 'Neccanies, semeanes, dimittes,[1] stuffs, gumlack, bloodstones, and the rest' will be sent as ordered. They can provide 'white callicoe lawnes, such as are fitt for banding, &c.' and 'shashes' of all kinds, but at prices 15 or 20 per cent. dearer than in the places at which they are made. 'The callicoe lawnes or butteeles [*see* p. 6] (as you call them) wee conceave to be heere tearmed by the name of salowes.'[2] Samples sent of these, and also of 'white shashes such as are heere

[1] For notes on these various stuffs see the 1618–21 volume.

[2] The terms 'sallas' is still applied to a variety of gray cotton goods manufactured in the Bombay Presidency.

cald guildares [Pers. *gul-dār*, spotted, or flowered], ferhautcanie [*Farhat Khānī*], kushkushee [*khaskhasī*, the colour of the poppy-head] and sursalles, wherof there are infinite quantities transported into Turkey.' Gum-lac can be obtained in abundance at Ahmadābād and Agra; and aloes at Surat, brought now regularly from Kishem [Kishin, in S. Arabia], belonging to the King of Socotra, who has lately written again to the factory, and from whose servant they bought 299 maunds 33 seers at as cheap rates as in the island itself. Owing to the Company's prohibition last year of the purchase of calicoes, they thought it best to buy a quantity of flat indigo from Sarkhej, and they see no reason to venture on the round indigo of Biāna. At present the former is about 12 rupees per maund, while the latter costs from 28 to 32 rupees 'that maund'; and their respective values in England do not at all correspond. However, in view of the Company's peremptory order, they would have bought a good store (as the Dutch have done), but their stock of money has been so much exhausted by the payment of their debts that they have judged it advisable to invest the small remainder in calicoes and other goods. As regards the continuance of trade with Mokha, they still think it too dangerous a venture, especially in view of the recent dispute with the Turks. 'The Dutch uppon farr les occasion have now these four yeares beene deteyned prizoners, and their whole estate to a great amount confiscated.' The trade would be a valuable one, but it would only be safe if a special farmān could be obtained from the Grand Signor, ordering their protection and absolving them from all claims on account of past occurrences. The coral sent in this fleet has been warehoused and must remain so until the expiration of a year, as stipulated in the recent agreement; they have not seen it, and can therefore give no opinion as to its value, but coral is at present in small demand. Broadcloths sell very slowly; not more than forty or fifty pieces should be sent yearly. At Lahore, &c., the price has been depressed by the competition of cloth brought in by Armenians. They have sold practically all the elephants' teeth, and could have got rid of more. As for cloth of gold, rich satins, &c., a few pieces should be sent every year 'be it but for reputacons sake and preservacion of frends at Court'. A continual residence there necessary, to answer com-

plaints and 'for the awing of griping governours'. Part of the gold lace has been sold at a reasonable profit. One suit of tapestry has been sent to Persia; the rest have been landed, and they will endeavour to sell them, but they fear the rich ones of Sir Francis Crane's will get the start of the Company's. The copper and iron-ware they disposed of at a loss, and no more should be sent; but lead is 'a very vendible commodity', and they have already sold their whole stock at $7\frac{7}{8}$ mahmūdīs per maund. In like manner all their quicksilver has found a purchaser at 105 rupees per maund, on condition that it is delivered free at Ahmadābād. This is a staple commodity, and three to four hundred maunds should be sent yearly; but more care must be taken in the packing, for there was a loss of 1,207 lb. in this last consignment. Amber beads to the value of 500*l.* or 1,000*l.* (cost in England) may yearly be provided. The dispatch of the *Discovery* to Batavia without touching at Sumatra was arranged in deference to the opinion of the seamen. This year they intend, if possible, to send a vessel specially to Achin. When other goods are not available, they will lade home cotton yarn, either plain-reeled, as desired, or (if that cannot be got) cross-reeled. Their accounts are behind, owing to the troubles, and they can only send copies of the journal unbalanced; but next time a more exact account shall be furnished. Explanation as to missing calicoes. They have always consulted the sea commanders in regard to the disposal of the ships, and will do so in future, as ordered. Reasons for the non-return of ships in the past; will endeavour to satisfy the Company in the future. With regard to the suggestions of trade with Dābhol, it is certainly a suitable place, both for the refreshing of the ships and for procuring cotton goods and pepper; moreover, the inhabitants have lately made several overtures to this effect, and have twice furnished the Company's vessels with water and provisions. 'Wee beleeve that, were it not for the Dutch (who are ever ominous to your affaires), there might be alsoe safetie for your estate and peoples residence;' but they must await further instructions before taking action. As regards the renewal of trade with Persia and the settling of a factory in Ormus, they find little encouragement from the advices received from thence, but have left the matter to the discretion of Kerridge. As the latter will soon

be back, Rastell is emboldened to take the opportunity offered of a passage to England, leaving the charge of affairs to Heynes and five other factors, Heynes to have a casting vote. Should Kerridge die, a new President will be elected by 'an imparciall councell of equall number, consisting of four, six, or eight of your principall servantes'. The *Blessing* and *William* have again been forced to put to sea, owing to the approach of a Portuguese fleet of eight galleons. About twenty-five days since this fleet left the coast for the Persian Gulf, their intention being (it is supposed) to recover Ormus. The *Star* cannot lade all the goods intended for Batavia; so she will be sent home on the return of Kerridge, and the *James* and *Jonas* dispatched to Batavia, and the *Eagle* to Sumatra. The settling of a factory at 'Tanjoure' was attempted by Captain Bickley in the *Hart*, but 'made frustrate by the secrett practizes of the Danes there residing', as detailed in the enclosed letters from Masulipatam. Have been obliged to retain some of the factors intended for the southwards. George Page asserts that by his agreement he is to have 100*l*. per annum after the first three years, and desires a confirmation of this in the next letters. David Gelly, purser's mate in the *Jonas*, will be employed as ordered. 'The comission which you have procured under the broad seale of England, and directed to this Councell, for the more awfull goverment of your people,[1] as wee could wish never to have cause in the

[1] In a subsequent document (April 14, 1628) mention is again made of 'our Kings Majesties letters pattents addressed to the President and Councell of Surratt', as conferring special powers on that body. No trace has been found of any grant of this character to the Surat authorities direct, and the reference is evidently to the letters patent of February 4, 1623 (*Parchment Records* at I. O., no. 8; printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xvii. p. 450), which empowered the East India Company to issue commissions to any of their Presidents and his Council to 'chastise, correct, and punishe all and everie the subjects of Us, our heires and successors, now imployed or hereafter to be imployed on land, or in any portes, havens, creeks, or places where shipps shall lye at anker in any of the parts of the East Indies'. Such President and Council were authorized to inflict suitable penalties, including death, provided that the latter sentence be only inflicted 'in case of mutiny, murder or other felony', and after trial by a jury of twelve or more Englishmen. This conclusion is confirmed by an entry in the Court Minutes of Sept. 18, 1633, ordering the Solicitor to procure an exemplification under the Great Seal of 'His Majesties comission formerly graunted unto the Company, whereby hee giveth power and authority to their President at Suratt and Bantam for the better regulating of their affaires and keeping in due order and obedience their servants there, to punish such as shalbee refractory, and in case of criminall offences to inflict upon the offendours the lawe called martiall lawe'. A copy of this exemplification, dated Jan. 2, 1634, is preserved in the *East Indies* series

extreamest of that power to extend it, soe in cases which cannott otherwise ether with safetie or good concience be avoided wee shall implore the all director of mens hartes and intencions to infuse mercie with justice, that before Him and man our proceedings may apeare to be justifiable.' They will endeavour to reform the lavish expenditure on fresh provisions for the ships while in port, but the commanders pretend that it is necessary to spare their salt victuals for use elsewhere. Their 'superfluitie in wine (if any)' is not the fault of the factors, 'whoe are soe farr asunder, and soe seldom doe come amongst them.' The invoice will show what goods are laden on these ships, the *Blessing* and *William*. Rastell will deliver a file of trials or tests of gold, to show that it would be an advantage to send that metal instead of rials. The gain would be at least four or five per cent. Refer also to him for information on other matters. *P.S.* (*signed by Rastell only*)—Besides Rastell, James, and Lancaster, there goes in these ships William Gibson, a young man trained up in the Company's service for five and a half years by Thomas Rastell. He is commended to the favour of the Company. They have received 11,703 mahmūdīs belonging to the estate of Henry Darrell, and have drawn bills in favour of his executors for 702*l.* 3*s.* accordingly, computating the rial of eight at 6*s.*, as formerly allowed. (*Endorsed as received by the* Blessing. 21½ *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL [AT SEA] TO THE COMPANY, [FEBRUARY 15, 1625] (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iii. no. 67).[1]

The ships left Swally on February 15. He now supplements the general letter by setting down a few matters then overlooked. Increases in wages: Edward Heynes to 120*l.*, Jeremy Suger [or Shuker] to 35*l.*, and John Hodges to 30*l.* Thomas Vincent died suddenly at Ahmadābād, and Walter Waight was drowned in crossing the river [at Surat?]. Claim of the King of Golconda for goods, alleged to belong to him, taken in the Chaul junk which was captured by the *Blessing* 'uppon account of your yett unsattisfied caphila'. This demand the President and Council resisted; but, on

at the Public Record Office, and clearly shows that the reference is to the letters patent of 1623.

[1] Abstracted in *O.C.* 1181.

hearing from Masulipatam that the King was resolved to seize the factors' goods, &c., unless restitution were made, they consented to pay 25,000 mahmūdīs, remembering that the Dutch, 'uppon les occasion,' had been mulcted of 5,000 pagodas (besides the expense of bribes and the damage inflicted by the suspension of trade) and had 'lost alsoe their Governour [1] (in his height of greatnes), beaten to death in the heate of those peoples furie'. As a matter of fact, they can trace little beyond the seven bales of silk sent home in the *Dolphin* that could have been his property; and so either the claim was false or there was great pilfering on the part of the mariners. The latter is not improbable, for one John Chester has since acknowledged some thefts, and has implicated Kenelm Butler of the *Dolphin*. The only means of obtaining redress for the King's exactions would be reprisals on his shipping; and this would entail a suspension of trade, possibly followed by a hollow peace dependent on 'perfidious promises'. 'The Dutch (wee heare) are now in action for revenge . . . even with intent of utter disolution to that trade.' This, however, they can afford to do, because they can procure most of the goods they want within their own jurisdiction on that coast. It is to be feared that the English will suffer, owing to the natives refusing to discriminate between the two nations, just as at Surat the Dutch were troubled because the English had arrested the junks. Some five or six days before Rastell's departure from Surat leave was given to the English to sell their coral, in spite of the restriction imposed by the late agreement. It was accordingly shown to the usual merchants, but they much disliked the colour (a most important point) and the invoice price was found rather exorbitant. The jewels have also been rated too highly. It is a mistake to overprice such goods. No conclusion was reached in regard to the coral, but the negotiations (which involved also a purchase by the English of 500 tons of pepper) were in a fair way at his departure. (*Holograph. Endorsed as received by the* William *and* Blessing. 4 *pp.*)

Consultation held on board the *James*, February 24, 1625 (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).[2]

As Kerridge is anxious to push on to Surat, it is agreed that the *Jonas* and the *Scout* shall proceed thither ahead of the fleet. If the

[1] Abraham Van Uffelen (see p. 5). He died January 22, 1624.

[2] Signed by the captains and masters; also by Wheatley, Smythe, and White.

Dutch concur, the *Eagle* and some Dutch ship will be told off to convoy the junks; if not, she will remain with the fleet. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge, Edward Heynes, George Muschamp, Joseph Hopkinson, Richard Wylde, and William Hoare, March 16, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 86).

It is decided that the *James*, *Jonas*, and *Spy*, with the Portuguese prize, shall proceed to Batavia, where the three former shall refit and return in September to meet the ships from England and oppose the Portuguese. The *Eagle* is to go to Achin, and the *Scout* to Socotra and the Comoro Islands in search of the *Anne*. Should she fail to find her, she is to repair to Mauritius, 'there to experiment what ebony maye futurelye be procured towards our home returnes.' Several merchants have solicited the President to transport them and their goods to Mokha, offering freight to about 15,000 rupees; but this would necessitate sending either the *James* or the *Jonas*, which would not be worth doing, and the request is therefore refused. (¾ *p.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Royal James* by President Kerridge and Council, with Captains Weddell and Clevenger and John Rowe, March 23, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 86).

John Johnson, master of the *Eagle*, is charged with (1) taking from a Portuguese prize a bale of silk and a negro boy for his own use, selling the latter in Surat; (2) disregarding his mates' advice in the navigation of the ship; and (3) being backward in the recent fights, in spite of 'the whole companies instigacion'. He replies that he has sent the silk home and will be answerable to the Company for it, as also for the boy (given to him, as he alleges, by Mr. Rastell); also that he is quite competent to navigate his ship and is under no obligation to defer to the judgment of his subordinates. For his conduct in the recent engagements he gives various reasons, 'tending rather to extenuate then to take away the imputacion of his non-performance.' It is decided to continue him in his place with a reprimand; while, to avoid friction, the two mates, Minors and Norbury, are to be moved to other ships. The *Star* and *Eagle* to be supplied with men, stores, and provisions.

The Portuguese prisoners to be released and given two rials apiece to take them to Damān. Of the Moors, such as are sick or 'unable for labor' are likewise to be put ashore. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Commission and Instructions from President Kerridge and Council to Andrew Evans, Master of the *Scout*, March 25, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 88).

'After your departure out of the Roade of Swallye, we doe heereby conferr one you the goverment of your shipps company and cheef direccion in this your navigacion, and by vertue of authoritye conferred on us by the Kings most royall Majestie our Soveraigne we doe authoriz you, by consent of your councell heere-under nominated, to punnish the offences of all men in this your vessell, according to the qualletye thereof, provided allwayes that examinacion be truly taken and recorded and all reasonable lenetye extended in the execucion; only in matter of life and death we doe wholy prohibitt you and inorder that such offenders be reserved in irons untill your arryvall hether for our determinacion.' David Gelly, merchant, and William Minors, mate, are to form a council with Evans. The object of his voyage is the discovery of the *Anne*. First, he is to make inquiry at Socotra. If nothing be heard there, he must sail along the African coast and visit the Comoro Islands and the north end of Madagascar. Failing any news of the missing vessel, he is to proceed to Mauritius and lade ebony-wood. Gelly is appointed to make sale of the cargo. Minors to succeed Evans as master in case of death. In returning, if the season permits, he may go round the southern end of Madagascar and leave a letter at St. Augustine's Bay. He is to capture any Portuguese vessel he may meet, keeping a careful account of any property taken. *P.S.*—A present to be given to the King of Socotra. (*Signed copy.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

William Minors's Account of the Voyage of the *Scout* (*Marine Records*, vol. xli).

1625, *March* 27. Sailed from Swally. *April* 19. Chased a frigate, but lost her. *April* 25. Sighted Socotra. *April* 26. Anchored in the Road, and took in a supply of water. *April* 27. Sailed. Overtook a junk from Diu, but released her. *April* 29. Saw Cape

Guardafui. *May* 1. Anchored in a sandy bay to the northwards of the Cape. Got a little water, but failed to catch any fish. Sailed again. *May* 7. After beating about for some days against rough seas and strong currents, they sighted the island of 'Abdelacore' [Abdulkūri] and 'the Dos Armanos' [The Brothers]. *May* 8. They were close to Socotra again. *May* 15. Still in sight of that island. *May* 19. Saw Cape Guardafui. *May* 24. Anchored two leagues within the Cape, where the master tried to speak with the country people, but the latter 'heavd stones' at him. *May* 25. Captured two native women and brought them aboard. *May* 26. Got a little water, and 'tooke a blacke'. *May* 27. Set the women ashore, and sailed. *May* 29. Liberated their remaining prisoner. Were promised provisions, but nothing came. Sailed again. *June* 3. Saw the town of 'Meath' [Māit?] to the south-west. *June* 6. Sailing ENE., the islands of 'Cannacanee'[1] bore ENE. of them. Took a small junk of 'Shaher.' *June* 8. Anchored at 'Shaher'.[2] *June* 9. Minors went ashore with Mr. Gelly. They were well received by the Governor. 'There is 50 howseholdes of bannians in the towne: the cheefe his name is Ramgee' [Rāmjī]. *June* 10. Heard news of the *Anne*, which made them anxious to resume their voyage; but as the only water obtainable was brackish, they determined to go first to 'Barum'. *June* 11. Sailed. *June* 12. Reached 'Borrum',[3] where they found six junks. The crews were struck with panic, but were assured that no harm was intended. The Governor supplied them with water and provisions. 'This is the best place for shippinge one all this coaste.' Sailed the same night, standing SE. *June* 13. The wind veering to the SW. they returned to Burum, where they set to work to trim their vessel. *June* 17. A junk from Mokha brought news that the *Anne* had gone to Asab. *June* 18. Sailed again. *June* 20. Finding themselves carried back by the current, they put into Burum again, and landed Mr. Gelly, who had volunteered to make his way overland to the *Anne* at Mokha. 'The bannians procured him a guide and a cammle; soe this eveninge hee was dispatched from Borrum.

[1] Possibly the Ghutdrin Islets, off the Arabian coast.

[2] Either the present Ash-Shehr, on the Arabian coast, in long. 49° 35′ E., or the ruined town to the westward called Shuhair. The latter is the more likely identification.

[3] Burum, between Ras Burum and Ras Makalla.

Hee shaved his head and thoughte for to travaile as a pilgrim ; but they wrought meanes that hee should goe to the greate Kinge and have passes from [*blank*] and finnish this bould enterprise in 20 dayes.' *June* 30. Having made two more futile attempts to get to the eastwards, the master decided to leave his vessel at Burum and endeavour to reach Mokha in his skiff. *July* 1. The skiff returned in order to have her sides raised, as she shipped too much water. This having been effected, she started again the same evening. *July* 10. She returned, after getting within seven or eight leagues of Aden, the men being tired out and refusing to row any longer. As a punishment the master caused a small 'murtherer' [a small piece of ordnance] to be hung about the neck of the ringleader. *July* 19. Minors fixed the latitude of Burum as 14° 27'.[1] 'It is a verrie temperate and holesome place ; good water and easie wateringe, which you may doe in despite of the countrie if neede require. But the people were verrie kinde unto us, sellinge goates for half a doller apeece or three for a doller. There money goeth by the caffala, of which 9½ maketh a doller and 60 fluse to a caffala.[2] Here was a juncke of Duo [Diu] bounde for Mocho, and one other of Sindy [*see* p. 54], which was come from Mocho and for feare of us sent her money to Shaher and there to take it in. There was alsoe a galliott of Choule, which was the Mallacambers [Malik Ambar's] and had brought rice for the poore, which hee yearly sendes. They use to unrigge, as alsoe to take out there mastes and unhang there rudder, for feare of beinge taken. Here is a place where one may bee sure of a voyadge uppon either junckes bounde for Mocho or India.' A short distance eastwards is a place called 'Mocally' [Makalla], which is a very good road. *July* 24. A letter from Mr. Gelly related his 'kinde entertainement at the Saltans courte. This Saltan his name was Abdela. And was to departe the 14th of July and did expecte to bee at Moco the 5th of Auguste.'[3] *July* 25. 'Beinge in conference with Nockeda Indergee [the nākhudā

[1] Really 14° 20'

[2] Cf. Knightley's account (p. 347, *infra*). Niebuhr, in his account of the weights of Mokha (*Déscription de l'Arabie*, 1774, p. 192), states that 870 'caffilas' equalled 100 Spanish crowns. The smaller coin is the Arabic *fals* (pl. *fulūs*).

[3] He succeeded in his adventurous mission and returned to India in the *Jonas*. On Nov. 22. 1626, the Company bestowed a gratuity of 20 marks upon him. It was stated that his journey had occupied 55 days.

Indrajī], hee wishte that the English had some place where they might bee sole commaunders of themselves. I demaunded where such a place were to bee founde. Hee tolde mee of two places, which were more commodious for us then Dio was for the Portingalls, with fresh water and roade for the whole yeare, as alsoe wee mighte spoyle the trade of Dio; with verrie manie other commodious thinges which woulde bee verrie good for us.' *August* 10. Catching sight of a galliot, supposed to be Portuguese, the *Scout* put to sea and engaged her. After a warm fight, the galliot got away. *August* 11. Both the galliot and the *Scout* anchored in 'Shaher' Road, when the former was discovered to be 'Courte Mamootes [Khurd Mahmūd], which was a verrie good freinde to the English, who when hee heard what wee were, both of us were sorrie for what had happened'. 'Hee tould mee that wee had kild him 11 men and shot another man his arme of, which our chirurgion drest. Hee had 250 men, 20 peeces of artillery, and 60 small shott and 10 harquebushes; wee had but two peeces, 8 small shott, 22 men and boyes, and (praysed bee to God) wee had but one man hurte, which was our carpenter, shott into the arme with a small shott; but in our sayles and hull wee received above one hundred shott, greate and smalle. His galliott was 250 tunnes and wee 25 tunnes; which by computacion in all thinges hee had ten to one.' *August* 12. The Governor, 'Ameare Morray' [Amīr Murād?], sent a present, and the master went aboard 'Courte Mammoote' to dinner. At night the *Scout* sailed. *August* 13. She reached Burum. *August* 23. Seeing a sail and supposing it to be the *Anne*, the *Scout* put out to sea. *August* 24. The stranger proved to be the 'Sindia' [*see* p. 71] junk, which had gone from Burum to 'Shaher' to lade dates, &c., and was now bound for India. *August* 25. Anchored at Burum once more. *August* 27. Sailed, with the intention of trying to reach the 'Cannacanee' Islands. *August* 29. Saw them to the NW., but finding the current still strong and the monsoon nearly over, the master determined to stand for Socotra. *August* 31. Overhauled a junk from Jiddah, belonging to Cambay, but released her. *September* 13. Sighted the coast of India. *September* 14. Saw two ships, which proved to be the *Jonas* and the *Anne*. *September* 16. Near 'St. Johns,[1] where the Portingales have residence in a faire

[1] Sanjān, 88 miles north of Bombay, and about 15 south of Damān.

white howse or forte', they took a junk, but released her on finding that she was from Surat. Heard from a frigate of the same place that there was a Portuguese ship cast away 'neere unto St. Johns'. *September* 17. Anchored off Damān. *September* 18. Anchored off the mouth of the Tāptī. Received letters from Surat, with news of seven Portuguese galleons which had come from Muskat, 'whereof two were cast away one the coaste.' *September* 19. Went into Swally Hole, and brought the President out to the *Anne* and *Jonas*. *September* 21. Went into the Hole again, with the *Jonas*. *September* 22. Three Dutch ships, the *Goude Leeuw*, *Walcheren*, and *Heusden*, arrived. The *Anne* came into the Road. *September* 24. A Dutchman had his leg bitten by a shark and died. *September* 25. The President wrote to Captain Clevenger that there were nine Portuguese galleons near Damān. (22 *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Council, March 28, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 90).

Mr. Morris Abbot having sent out in the last fleet two fair emeralds for sale on his own account, it is resolved to dispatch them to Cambay in the charge of John Bangham for sale to 'Meer Moza',[1] who has been 'sent by the Kinge expresslye for the buying of jewells and other rareties'. The President draws attention to the large amount of private trade carried in the late voyage to Persia, and propounds the question whether freight should be demanded from the owners; but it is resolved to leave the matter to be dealt with in England. At the request of the Dutch, it is agreed that a hundred tons of their goods be carried to Batavia for them in the *James*. An offer of freight from 'certaine banian marchants', who wish to be carried with their goods to the same place, is refused for fear of competition in sales there. Grant of 200 mahmūdīs apiece to Messrs. Heynes and Hutchinson 'towards the supply of their provisions homewards, as to others hath usually been accustomed'. Owing to the want of ammunition, it is decided to have 5,000 great shot made in Surat and to purchase 1,200 maunds of powder at Ahmadābād. (1 *p.*)

[1] Mīr Mūsā, Governor of Cambay (see the previous volume, p. 329).

Henry Wheatley at Surat to John Bangham, March 31, 1625 (*O.C.* 1184).

Desires him, on arrival at Cambay, to invest in white beads the seven rials lent him by the writer on board the ship, with the five lārīs for a piece of stuff in Persia. Should he have any more money before his departure, he will arrange for its remittance to Bangham, for investment in red and white beads. (½ *p.*)

Richard Wylde [1] at Surat to John Bangham at Court, April 1, 1625 (*O.C.* 1185).

Sends messages from various friends. John Benthall desires an account of money and goods he sent from Gombroon last year and the remittance of any proceeds. Hopkinson, before leaving for Mokha, also desired the writer to apply to Bangham for the proceeds of goods delivered to him and John Goodwin, amounting to 951 rupees 50 pice. Clitherow has told him that Goodwin sold the damasks and Chinese cloth of gold a year ago at Agra, and he is surprised to have heard nothing about it. Part should be remitted to the writer at once to discharge a commission left with him by Hopkinson. (*Endorsed as received in Kābul May* 29, 1626, *and answered on the* 31*st*. 1 *p.*)

Commission and Instructions from President Kerridge and Council to Captains Weddell and Clevenger for their Voyage to Batavia, April 6, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 91).

'The disposure both of yourselves, shipps, and company being referred (as you knowe) unto our commaund and direccion . . . we doe heereby resigne unto you, the Worshipfull Captaine John Weddell, the supreame and cheefe commaund of the aforesaid shipps and pinnaces and all the persons in them, to governe with the same authoritye and instruccions during the now intended voyage as from the Honorable Company by vertue of His Majesties letters pattents you receaved, and we as their lawfull substitutes

[1] Afterwards President. He came out in the 1624 fleet, having been engaged by the Company on November 7, 1623, as a factor, for five years at 100*l.* per annum.

This letter is clearly dated 1625, but the contents seem to indicate that 1626 is the right year.

doe confirm unto you; but therein to continue but only during the tyme of this your voyage unto the porte of Batavia and backe returne to the porte of Surratt, where you are to make a surrender of the said authoritye unto us, the foresaid President, who must then resume that commaund againe, according to the Honorable Company their injunccions.' To proceed with their ships to Batavia and return by September 22 at the latest. To careen and repair the ships at Batavia. To surprise any vessels belonging to ports under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, or to Chaul, Dābhol, or 'the Samarines[1] dominions', keeping a strict account of everything taken in them and punishing severely any attempt at embezzlement. The council to consist of Captain Weddell (with a casting vote), Muschamp, Clevenger, Swanley, Monk, Wills, Wheatley, and (Robert) Smith. The principals of the *Star* and *Eagle* are also to be members so long as those ships remain in company with the fleet. *Annexed:* Articles to be promulgated for prevention of pillage. (*Signed copy.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)[2]

A CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND COUNCIL AND THE COMMANDERS OF THE SHIPS, APRIL 8, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 93).

The President having yesterday received intelligence that the *Anne* was at Mokha in great want of assistance, it is determined to dispatch the *Jonas* thither, after transferring her cargo to the *James.* Spare stores and thirty extra men to be sent in her. Roger Browne, one of the *Dolphin's* company, who fled to the Portuguese but returned on October 13, 1624, and has since behaved satisfactorily, is to have his former wages, viz. 20*s.* per month. 'Divers young men and youthes aboard the severall shipps performing good service without any consideracion of salerye from the Honourable Company,' it is agreed that those found deserving shall be allowed 10*s.* a month, payable in England, provided they serve three years in the East from April 1, 1625. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

[1] The Zamorin or King of Calicut.

[2] By a postscript dated April 11 (p. 97 of the same volume), George Muschamp is exempted from Weddell's authority and allowed to share the great cabin with him.

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND COUNCIL TO CAPTAIN CLEVENGER, APRIL 9, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 94).

To proceed in the *Jonas* with all possible speed to the Straits of Mokha for the purpose of succouring the *Anne*. Then to accompany her back to Surat. To be very cautious in dealing with the people of Mokha. Asab would be a safer place for watering, &c. The *Scout*, if met with, is to put herself under Clevenger's orders. Power given him to punish offenders during the voyage, but he is not to inflict death. On the outward voyage no time is to be lost in chasing Portuguese or other vessels, but coming back he may make prize of any he comes across. Ships belonging to the Great Mogul's dominions are not to be molested. Care to be taken to prevent pilfering. The council to consist of Clevenger (with a casting vote), the purser, and the four mates; also Evans and his merchant, so long as the *Scout* is in company. (*Signed copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN JOHNSON, MASTER OF THE *EAGLE*, APRIL 9, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 96).

To proceed with Weddell's fleet and not to part company until ordered to do so. Then to make his way to Achin and so to Batavia, John Carter, late master's mate of the *Star*, acting as pilot during the voyage. Power given to punish offenders. John Carter, Peter Bell, Richard Norbury, and John Darby to be members of council with Johnson. Instructions for his proceedings at Achin. To seize any Portuguese vessel he may encounter. At Batavia he is to take instructions from the President and Council there. (*Signed copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN ROWE, COMMANDER OF THE *STAR*, APRIL 9, 1625 (*O.C.* 1188).[1]

On leaving Swally he is to make the best of his way to England, keeping company with the Dutch ships *Maagd van Dort* and *Wesp*, and assisting them as far as possible. Power is given to him to

[1] A signed copy, with the seal (unfortunately broken) of the President and Council, bearing the arms of the Company, with supporters and crest.

control and punish all on board except Heynes and Hutchinson. To be on his guard against pirates or other enemies. Heynes is to share the round-house with Rowe, and Hutchinson to choose a cabin in the 'cuddee'[1] or elsewhere. All matters of importance to be decided by a council composed of Edward Heynes, John Rowe, Robert Hutchinson, Daniel White, and the two master's mates. Heynes to have a casting vote. A record of the proceedings to be kept. In the event of Rowe's death, Heynes is to command, while John Vine takes charge of the navigation of the ship. (2 *pp.*)

ROBERT FOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *JAMES* FROM SURAT TO BATAVIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1625, *April* 2. Came out of 'Swally Hole'. *April* 9. The *Jonas* dispeeded for the Red Sea to succour the *Anne*. *April* 14. The *James*, *Star*, *Eagle*, *Spy*, and *Simon and Jude*[2] sailed, in company with four Dutch ships. *April* 26 [22 ?]. The *Simon and Jude* took a small junk of about 25 tons burden. The lading of rice was shared with the Dutch, according to agreement. *April* 27. The *Simon and Jude* captured another junk, which was unladen and made over to the Dutch. *May* 5. The *Star* and two [Dutch] ships parted company with the rest, homewards bound. *May* 7. The prize was turned adrift. *June* 5. Saw the coast of Java. *June* 8. Met two Dutch ships. *June* 11. Anchored off Batavia. *July* 5. Returned thither, after careening at Hector's Island. (5 *pp.*)

RICHARD MONK'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xl).

1625, *April* 2. Quitted 'Swally Hole'. *April* 9. The *Jonas* departed for the Red Sea. *April* 13. Sailed in the afternoon with the *Star* and the *Eagle*, in company with four Dutch ships, of which two were bound for Holland and two for Batavia. *April* 26 [22 ?]. The pinnace took a small junk. *April* 27. Another junk captured. *May* 5. The *Star* and the two Dutch ships parted company with the rest of the fleet. *May* 7. Turned their prize adrift. *June* 5. Saw the coast of Java. *June* 8. Anchored near Palembang Point,

[1] The earliest example of the use of 'cuddy' given in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* is dated 1660. The name is possibly of Oriental origin.

[2] A captured Portuguese frigate.

near two Dutch ships. *June* 11. Anchored in Jakatra Road [Batavia]. *June* 28. Went to Hector's Island to careen. *July* 5 Returned to Batavia. (4½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATIONS HELD ON BOARD THE *JAMES* DURING THE VOYAGE TO BATAVIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).[1]

1625, *April* 12. Resolved to wait until the 14th for the company of the Dutch. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

April 22. It is decided to keep company with the Dutch as far as Cape Comorin, and to share all captures or losses, as proposed. Heynes and Rowe authorized 'to make consortshipp and keepe company' with the homeward-bound Dutch ships. The junk of Cochin captured this day is to be confiscated. Calico to be made into sails. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

April 25. Resolved to take out the cargo of the prize and turn her adrift. The captain, pilot, and the unserviceable men are to be put ashore, and the rest carried to Batavia. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

JOHN BANGHAM AT SURAT TO THOMAS RASTELL IN LONDON, APRIL 14, 1625 (*O.C.* 1189).

Sends briefly the news since his departure. Fight with the Portuguese off Gombroon, in which Becker, the Dutch commander, was slain. The Portuguese were 'putt to the worst', whereupon the English sailed for Surat. On arrival Kerridge assumed the charge of affairs. The *Star* now dispatched for England, with Heynes and Hutchinson and a Persian ambassador on board. 'The Prince Ckorom [Khurram], being againe repulst out of his fathers dominions, returned the waie hee went by Meslepatan, and is at present within 50 course of Brampoore [Burhānpur], Abdelackaun goeing some daies journie before him. Tis greatly fearde hee will come to Suratt and attempt Guzeratt againe. Howe wee maie bee dealte with by the Prince is doubtfull ; yett wee hope the best. The King is remote toward Cashmeere, and in theise partes litle strength to withstand such an enemy.' William Bell died before the fleet reached Persia, and Barker is now the Agent. Bangham is about to start for Cambay to dispose of some goods,

[1] The persons signing are Weddell, Rowe, Swanley, Johnson, (John) Carter, (John) Vian, Heynes, Muschamp, (Robert) Hutchinson, Wheatley, and White.

and especially to endeavour to sell Abbot's emeralds to 'Meer Mooza', the Governor. Thence he is to go to Ahmadābād, and wait until Hopkinson arrives. His next destination may be Baroda, but at present no money is available for investment there. Commendations to James, Lancaster, and Gibson. (1 *p.*)

Richard Wylde at Surat to John Bangham [at Surat?], [April 14], 1625 (*O.C.* 1190).

Is bold to send under his convoy some odd goods for Gregory Clement. Begs him also, on his arrival at Cambay, to show to 'Mermusa' Captain Weddell's tapestries and carpet, with a comb-case belonging to the Company. The prices are left to his discretion, but the carpet must not be allowed to go for less than 500 rupees. The proceeds should be handed to the broker who accompanies him, to be invested according to order; but if no sales be effected, the goods should be taken on to Ahmadābād, 'under the cover of your sombre' [Port. *sombra*, protection], and delivered to Clement. (1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same at Broach, [ ] April, 1625 (*O.C.* 1191).

On second thoughts, not more than 150 rupees should be delivered to the broker, and the rest carried on to Clement, from whom a receipt should be taken. (*Seal.* 1 *p.*)

Captain Weddell, aboard the *Royal James* off Cape Comorin, to the Company, April 27, 1625 (*O.C.* 1192).

Repeats the gist of his last letter, left at Gombroon. Sailed from Swally for Persia on November 17, 1624, in company with the Dutch ships *Zuid Holland*, *Bantam*, *Maagd van Dort*, and *Wesp*, and four Surat junks under the convoy of the latter. On the 18th they met the *Eagle* returning from her fruitless quest for the *Anne*, and with her two prizes. She brought news of a Portuguese fleet of eight great galleons, besides frigates, riding before Goa, whose intention was to seek the English in Swally Road, and if they were not there to follow them to Persia. After consultation it was decided to return to Swally, in order to secure the *William* and the *Blessing*. The Dutch, however, refused to wait, and so the two fleets parted on the afternoon of the 19th. The sound of their salutes

being heard at Swally, the *William* and the *Blessing*, imagining a fight was in progress, came out to join them. They all met off the Bar of Surat on the 21st, when a letter was dispatched to the President and Council for instructions. Their decision was that the *William* and the *Blessing* should put to sea with the rest, as if intending to go to Persia with them, but should merely wait out at sea for fifteen days and then return to Swally to complete their lading. Accordingly they all sailed on November 29, and two days later the two ships were left behind. On December 13 a junk was captured, bound for Muskat with cotton wool, dutties, and grain, having four Portuguese on board. Anchored at Jask on the 18th, leaving again on the 20th. On the 27th they saw Ruy Freire's squadron of frigates, engaged in the blockade of Ormus; and the following day they reached Gombroon Road, where they found the Dutch fleet at anchor, and were joyfully received by the Persians. Friction between the Governor and the Dutch. On January 17 Weddell went over to Ormus to ballast his ships. 'Wee vewed the towne, which although it bee unhabeted yet it is not much ruened, the Sultan suffaringe not a sticke to bee puld downe out of aney house. The Castell is verey well repared and somthinge better, in respect of a moate which the Persian hath new diged and sertaine lowe fronters agmented.' Returned to Gombroon January 25. 'The Persian begineth to bee werey of keeping Ormuse, in respect thaye have noe shippinge to maintane trayed or defend themselves from invation of the Portingalls, insomuch that Mr. Barker is certainely perswaded, if it should bee demanded by the English, it would bee assigned unto them.' The factors receive the moiety of the customs still. The Persians offered first 300 and then 600 tūmāns if the English would co-operate in an expedition to Muskat, but Kerridge refused in view of the expected arrival of the Portuguese fleet. On the 30th they heard from a frigate that the fleet was on its way, and the next morning eight galleons and a number of frigates hove in sight. The English at once put out to meet them, but at sunset the wind fell calm and the ships were forced to anchor. The Dutch commander, Albert Becker, sent to inquire Weddell's intentions, and was told he was determined to fight it out to the last. The Dutch replied that they meant to do the same, and 'would sticke as

close unto us as the sherts one our backs, wee promisinge the like unto them.' A true and exact relation of the fight against eight galleons and sixteen frigates on February 1, 3, and 14. The Dutch commander made the first shot at the Portuguese admiral. As soon as the English got into action it fell calm, and for four or five hours the opposing fleets drifted up and down, 'peltinge one another' whenever possible. In the afternoon a breeze sprang up, and the Portuguese admiral and vice-admiral attempted to board the *James* simultaneously; but Weddell bore up under the stern of the former and raked him fore and aft with his whole broadside. The fight continued until five, the *James* firing 600 to 700 shot and losing six men killed, besides one or two mortally wounded. The Dutch commander was slain in this day's fight. On the 2nd the wind was with the Portuguese, but they made no attempt to engage. The allies were then busy repairing damages, but at a joint consultation in the afternoon it was determined to fight again on the morrow, and to make specially for the enemy's admiral. Accordingly next day, having the weather-gage, they attacked. The *James* was surrounded by the Portuguese, 'who behaved themselves verey stoutley,' 'but our men so plyed ther ordnance upon them that thaye all refused to staye by us, but fled all afore us as smocke afore the wynd.' Johnson, in the *Eagle*, failed to support Weddell effectively. The *James* fired over 1,000 shot this day and received not less than 400. Of her crew four were killed and three maimed; and 'at sonsett wee ware so faint and werey that our menn began to drop downe for verey faintnes'. A prize had been fitted up as a fire-ship, but being chased by the Portuguese frigates the men on board were forced to abandon her in an unsuitable position, after setting her alight, and she nearly fired some of their own ships. On the 4th the galleons sailed or were towed by their frigates over to Larak, whither the allies could not follow for want of wind, and so returned to Gombroon to repair damages. During the two days' fight, Mr. Barker and the Sultan of Gombroon, sitting upon their houses, counted 16,000 shot, but on the second day the ordnance went off so fast that they lost count; yet the Sultan imagined 17,000 to be the least, and so informed the King and the Khān. The Sultan sent off provisions ready dressed to the ships, together with a supply of powder; and Weddell lent the Dutch thirty

barrels of the latter. On the 13th the whole fleet sailed at daybreak and made for the Portuguese, who at once put to sea. At sunset the allies overtook them and kept company all night. In the morning Weddell was forced to wait for the Dutch, and the Portuguese got considerably ahead; but by the afternoon they were again overhauled, some six leagues south-east of Cape 'Mousondon' [Musandam]. The *James* attacked the admiral, and 'fell to it pell mell, our ordnance gowinge of as fast as smale shott'. After a stout fight, the enemy made for the Arabian shore. The allies chased them for a little while and then resumed their voyage for Surat. Their reasons for abandoning the chase were (1) the short time left to get their cargoes discharged at Surat in time to save the monsoon, and (2) their scarcity of ammunition, the English having but 21 barrels of powder, 500 cartridges, and 600 shot left, and the Dutch being in still worse condition. The *James* in the last fight lost but one man, and fired over 400 shot. One of the Portuguese prisoners escaped; the rest were released at Surat, as also the natives captured in the junk. The bar of Swally was reached on March 6, 1625, and two days later they anchored in the road. On April 2 the *James* and *Jonas* went out again, and three days later the *Star* was got over the bar. The President came on board with news that the *Anne* was at Mokha, very leaky and with only forty men left. It was therefore decided to shift the cargo of the *Jonas* to the *James*, and dispatch the former to the Red Sea, which was done on April 9. The *Scout* had already been sent to the African coast and Socotra to inquire for the *Anne*. The *Eagle* is bound for Achin, and thence through the Straits of Malacca to Batavia. The *Spy* and a frigate captured in the late cruise will accompany the *James* to Batavia, where the frigate will be left. The main orlop and upper deck of the *James* were so much decayed that during the recent fight the men on the middle deck thought that the guns would fall through on top of them. Weddell has now replanked her. Luckily she is a stout ship between wind and water, for she received at least twenty great shot there without serious damage. The Portuguese aimed especially at the rigging, but neither the Dutch nor the English lost a mast or a yard, though their sails were rendered unserviceable. The enemy's admiral lost mizenmast, topmast, and flagstaff; the vice-admiral had a topmast

shot away; and the rest suffered in proportion. 'Thus it pleased God to curbe ther pride.' The bread supplied to the fleet was so bad that half had to be thrown overboard, but they got a better supply at Surat; 'one cake backed heer is worth three brought out with us.' It is also cheaper; so he advises that ships should regularly provision in India. The beef is better than it has been. Their wine 'in respect of our fight is much spent'; a further supply should be sent. They hope to replenish their store of ammunition at Batavia; more should be provided in future. The white wine kept well and preserved the men in health. The plaster of Paris sent in the *Star* could have been had much better at Surat; and it is a very pestering commodity. He hopes to sheathe the *James* at Batavia. Since leaving Surat the wind has been unfavourable, and he fears the voyage will be a long one. *P.S.*—The Dutch, instead of ballasting with stones, carry saltpetre, which may be had very cheap. He has informed Kerridge, who has promised to have a supply ready for the next ships dispatched to England. Since concluding his letter, he has taken (April 21) a Cochin junk, laden with corn, and carrying letters, from which he learned that 'the Portin[gall] would not out the Gulfe tell hee had taken Ormuse; so that I thincke wee shall have more to doe with him'. The practice of sending two pinnaces with each fleet should be continued, 'for ther maye not a boate passe upon the coast but [with] ther helpe wee maye speacke with them; so that now wee have above 80 blacks workinge in our shipps, of whome, if ther shall be aney want in Batavea, wee will leave the greatest part th[ere]; the rest for Suratt.' The pinnaces should be fitted to carry eight long minions and will then be found very useful. Has sent another letter by the *Maagd van Dort*, as she sails better than the *Star* and may therefore arrive before her. (*Seal.* 9 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, APRIL 27, 1625 (*O.C.* 1172).

Has the originals of the following, which are at the Company's service if needed: (1) From the Khān of Shīrāz to the Captain-General of the English Fleet. Was glad to hear of his arrival at 'Bander Abausee' [Bandar Abbāsī, i.e. Gombroon]. Trusts he will continue their former friendship. Requests that he will communicate his wishes to the Governor, 'Sewendouk Sultan' [*see the*

previous volume, p. 31], who will act accordingly. Will be glad to hear from him ‘anything requisite my knowledge’. (2) From the Imām Qulī Beg to Weddell and his companions. Welcomes the arrival of the fleet. Any business Weddell has shall be effected on notice being given. Hopes to see him shortly.

Encloses also a relation of two Portugals born in Ormus.[1] Ruy Freire has besieged Ormus for ten months with 18 frigates, cutting off all supplies. He wrote to the King, offering to buy it, but the latter replied ‘hee had wonn it with the sword and he would hold it’. The Dutch also (by report) have asked for its cession, undertaking to people and defend it. To this the King answered that the English had an interest therein, and he could not wrong them by disposing of it unless they had previously refused it. About twelve years ago a captain of a frigate made a voyage for pearl off the south-west point of Larak, with great success. May is the month for pearl-fishing. The chief place for this industry is ‘Barrine’ [Bahrain], which was captured by the King of Persia some twenty years since. Only small vessels can anchor there. There are other places suitable, such as ‘Cativa’ [Al Katīf], known to any Arab pilot. The informant, on being shown an English dredge, thought that it would be very useful for such work. The Gulf is very shallow within two days' sail of Basrā, and cannot there be navigated without a pilot. The Persian coast extends for about ten days' sail. From Gombroon to ‘Congoe’ [Kung] is twenty leagues. The deepest water is on the Arabian side. ‘Shenaz’ [Shinās] is seven leagues further; ‘Nicholu’ [Nakhīlū] another 40 leagues; and ‘Asselu’ [Aslū] ten leagues further still. The common people would gladly see the English settle at Ormus, when trade would doubtless revive. The Persians have bravely defended that island. They cut off about 100 Portuguese who had landed to get water, twenty-eight being slain and three captured, including a kinsman of Ruy Freire. On the arrival of the English the Portuguese frigates retired to Larak, where they have built a small fort with four guns and have endeavoured to divert trade thither. Ruy Freire is supported by the Arabs and some revolted Persians, and has ruined many of the ports between Jask and Gombroon. He reported to the Governor of the latter place that

[1] There is a copy of this at the Public Record Office (*East Indies*, vol. iii. no. 73).

the English commanders who took Ormus had had their heads cut off; that the Prince was marrying the Infanta; and that the King of England had promised to send a fleet to re-establish the Portuguese in Ormus. Had not the English arrived when they did, Ormus would soon have been in great need of water. The King of Ormus is living at Shīrāz, the 'Duke' allowing him a 'damon' [tūmān] a day and a fair house and garden; but his Wazīr 'Ricenorad' [Raīs Murād?] was beheaded for having sent his treasure to Muskat in the Portuguese frigates.

The Persians have built a castle at Gombroon close by the waterside, using stones from the ruined houses in the suburbs of Ormus. They have not defaced or demolished any houses in the city itself,[1] 'in expectacion of the English,' though Captain Hall refused to satisfy their demands. (*Endorsed as received by the* Star. 3 *pp.*)

NOTES OF THE FIGHTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF (*O.C.* 1175).

Names of the men slain in the *Royal James* (13), *Jonas* (11), *Star* (4), and *Eagle* (1): total 29. The Portuguese vessels had from sixty-five guns downwards [*see note* 4 *on* p. 50], and their men were three times as numerous as ours. The Dutch lost nearly as many as the English, including their commander, Albert Becker. The Portuguese loss was reported by the natives at about 800 men, including (it is thought) their leader. About 20,000 shot were spent in the three fleets. The *James* received about 450 shot. She was forced to borrow at Surat from the *Jonas* and *Blessing*, and to leave the gunner of the former behind to cast more shot. Carpenters much needed in the Indies; the *James* had only thirteen, and four of these were slain. (1 *p.*)

JOHN JOHNSON, MASTER OF THE *EAGLE*, TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 27, 1625 (*O.C.* 1193).

Narrates their voyage to Persia and the encounters with the Portuguese there. In the first fight the largest of the enemy's ships, a galleon built at Damaun, lost her mainmast, and had her

[1] In later years the ruins of Ormus were freely drawn upon for building materials, and apparently the practice is still maintained, for according to an article in the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1908, the new British Consulate at Bandar Abbāsī has been constructed of stones obtained from that source.

foremast rendered unserviceable. On February 3 Captain Weddell took the lead, as the Dutch had complained that 'he did little the first dayes fighte'. This time the Portuguese vice-admiral's main-topmast was shot away, and of the rest only two had topmasts standing; but their greatest loss was the death of their General, 'Donallve Botellowe,' and of his second in command [*see* p. 50]. The next day the Dons took refuge at Larak, while the allies anchored at Gombroon. Departed on February 13. The Portuguese, either fearing that they had with them a Persian force to land on the island, or thinking that some fire stratagem was intended, stood out to sea. The English and Dutch overtook them about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, and the two fleets fought till sunset. They then proceeded to Surat. (*Damaged. Endorsed as received by the* Star. 1½ *pp.*)

President Kerridge at Surat to John Bangham at Ahmadābād, April 30, 1625 (*O.C.* 1194).

Has received his of the 17th and 21st. Approves his reasons for going by way of Cambay, and rejoices at his fortune in meeting 'Gourdas' [Gurdās] there. Knows his jewels will be bought, but is most anxious to put off his tapestry; the prices he leaves to Bangham's discretion. (*With the seal of the Company.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, May 7, 1625 (*O.C.* 1195).

Notes the goods sold by him to 'Meer Moosa' and their prices; wishes the rest were got rid of at the same rates, though the profit is not great. Thinks the Governor will desire the jewels, for he cannot get any cheaper from the Portuguese. Were they all his own, Kerridge 'would not abate him a pice', but as they are 'in partnershipp' he will leave the price to Bangham's discretion. The tapestry should not be shown until the last. Awaits his advice concerning 'the Scotch pearle'. The general letter will show their purpose concerning his employment at court. Intends to come up to Ahmadābād with Hopkinson, who starts within fifteen days; so he may see Bangham before his departure. *P.S.*—Will write to 'Gourdas' later. (*With the Company's seal. Damaged. Endorsed as answered on the* 14*th.* 1¼ *pp.*)

John Bangham at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, May 13, 1625 (*O.C.* 1196).

Has received their directions as to his 'court imployment', in which he will do his best; but he hopes they will consider his small means, 'having served many yeares for litle wages,' and his new employment being long, tedious, and chargeable. Is waiting to show the emeralds to 'Meer Mooza', who is to settle to-morrow whether he will keep Sir Francis Crane's tapestry. Some report that he will leave this place at the new moon; others that he will await the first rainfall. Should he refuse the tapestry, &c., Bangham will probably proceed in his company. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, May 17, 1625 (*O.C.* 1197).

'Meer Mooza' offers 2,500 rupees for the emeralds. Entreats early instructions, for several showers have fallen, which will hasten his departure; and unless an answer comes, Bangham must go with him, for there is no other likely customer in this place, and no other caravan is expected to set out for Agra for some time. Nothing yet settled about the tapestry. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, May 26, 1625 (*O.C.* 1198).

'Meer Moza' has returned Crane's tapestry. The most he offered was 45 rupees 'the long covedo' [Port. *covado*, cubit or ell], which they refused. The Company's tapestry he will not buy, as it is too coarse for him. So all is now packed up in cotton wool, 'treble momjama' [Hind. *momjāma*, wax-cloth], and skins, to preserve it against the wet. Trusts they have increased his salary, as desired. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

President Kerridge and Council at Surat to the Factors in Persia, May 26, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 170).

Narrate the skirmish between Weddell's fleet and the Portuguese squadron [on February 14]. The English lost three men. The Dutch *Maagd van Dort*, wherein was the Ambassador [for Holland], suffered severely, losing three or four men killed, and more wounded. It is said that three of the galleons have now come to Goa for

repairs, and that the other five have gone or are going to Ormus. The fleet reached Surat on March 8, and found that the *William* and the *Blessing* had left on February 15. These ships were delayed by the necessity of going to sea for a time to avoid the Portuguese. The latter sighted them, but did not attempt to give chase. Messrs. Rastell and James departed for England in the *William* and the *Blessing*. The surplus pepper and indigo, with some extra pepper and calicoes, sufficed to lade the *Star*, which was dispatched to England on April 14. The silk and the King of Persia's ambassador and merchant were also sent in her, with so many of their servants as had not run away. They gave much trouble by their 'proud carriadge' and complaints as to their accommodation. 'In like manner they continued heere ashoare, though wee supplyed the ambassador with a pleasant howse and garden; the marchant[1] tooke a howse alone, and would also bee great; yett neyther of them [had?] aney money to expend.' They expected the English to bear all their charges, both on sea and land; and the ambassador was very insolent, 'upbraydinge us with the curtesies and honnour you received in Persia.' There is slight prospect of any benefit to the Company from this embassy. 'Musaph Beage'[2] sailed for Holland in the *Maagd van Dort*. He behaved much better than 'our ambassador', with whom he had some disputes. Intelligence arriving that the *Anne* was at Mokha, the *Jonas* was dispatched to her assistance. The *Scout* had previously been sent to Socotra for the same purpose, and probably all three will return together. The *James*, *Spy*, and a pinnace have gone to Batavia, and the *Eagle* to Achin. The Dutch at Surat have sent for a strong squadron to encounter the Portuguese; so that probably a larger Anglo-Dutch fleet will come to Gombroon next season than 'that imployment doth merritt, whereto the customes of Gombroone is a poore inducement, our last fleete haveinge spent 5,000*l.* starling in powder and shott'. The powder supplied by the Persians was almost useless, and it would be well

[1] His name appears to have been Khwāja Muhammad Shāhsuwār. He died during his visit to England, and was buried in London.

[2] The Persian ambassador to Holland already mentioned. Van den Broeck calls him 'Mossabeck' in his *Voyagie*, and 'Mousa Beyck' in a letter to the Dutch Company (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. vii. no. 228). Probably Mūsā Beg is the right form.

to get a farmān for the provision in future of some of better quality. They must not expect much of a cargo next year, for the Surat factory has scarcely means enough to pay its debts, and moreover the provision of goods for England must take precedence of everything else. The rūnās sent this year is still unsold, not being worth its prime cost. There was also an excessive loss in its weight. No more to be sent without special orders. Request some Shīrāz wine and rosewater for presents. This letter has been entrusted to an Armenian, who has been taken prisoner by the Malabars, the Portuguese, and the English in turn, and is going to Persia overland.[1] (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. HOPKINSON, WYLDE, AND HOARE, MAY 30, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 98).

It is recalled that Mr. Young solicited the late President for permission to return to England, but was begged in reply to remain as agent at court until Kerridge's return from Persia. He, however, left his post before the receipt of this letter, and deputed Willoughby (though he had formerly accused him of unfaithfulness) to act in his stead. It is now resolved to send John Bangham thither as agent and to allow him 400 mahmūdīs per annum ('the thirds of his present salarye being not competent in fitting manner to beare the necessary expences of his residence'), to commence from his leaving Ahmadābād. (½ *p.*)

ROBERT YOUNG, JOHN LEACHLAND, JOHN BANGHAM, AND GREGORY CLEMENT AT 'CALLY TULLAWRY' TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 18, 1625 (*O.C.* 1199).

The emeralds having been valued by other jewellers as worth from four to five rupees the 'ruttee',[2] they were again offered, as directed, to 'Meer Moza', but he has absolutely refused them. They weigh 40 'rutties' apiece, without the setting. Bangham will endeavour their sale at Agra or the court. 'Meer Moza is

[1] Apparently he did not fulfil his mission, for the present copy is from a duplicate received on November 30, by the pinnace *Spy*.

[2] Hind. *ratī*, the seed of *Abrus precatorius*, used as a goldsmith's weight.

gonn hence three course to Cally Tullawry,'[1] and will probably start immediately on his journey. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. WYLDE, HOARE, AND PAGE, JULY 10, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 98).

The Company, finding the Deccan pepper received from Surat to be better than any obtained elsewhere, has ordered the provision of larger quantities, 'even to the sole lading of a ship or more of good burthen.' The President has accordingly been in treaty with 'Vergee Vora', 'a prime marchant of this towne', for 10,000*l.* worth at 16 mahmūdīs the maund; but the latter demands 16¼ mahmūdīs, and requires as part of the bargain the sale to him of 25 chests of their best coral at a price which would seriously diminish the expected profit. Meanwhile he has engrossed all the pepper brought in by 'the Decannee marchants', who are not permitted to sell it to any other. To avoid being forced to give him his terms, it is resolved to send the broker 'Hirgee' [Harijī] secretly to the Deccan with bills of credit for 4,000 rupees to see what he can do. As the Dutch make yearly investments in saltpetre, both in Agra and Ahmadābād, it is determined to purchase in the latter place 3,000 maunds for transport to England by the next shipping. (1 *p.*)

JOHN BANGHAM AT DUNDARA[2] TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 17, 1625 (*O.C.* 1202).

Wrote last from 'Cullwoll' on the 25th. Has now reached this place in safety, escaping 'the Coolees [*see previous volume*, p. 153] whoe robb[ed] some part of the caffiloe [*see* p. 28] and slewe us seven men'. A few days ago he met a peon returning from Agra, who told him that John Goodwin and 'Jadoe' [Jādū] were gone with the goods to Lahore; so he intends to go direct to the latter place, especially as the roads between Agra and Lahore are as yet impassable on account of the rains and very dangerous owing to the strength of the rebels about Delhi. Mīr Mūsā is also very

[1] Probably Kāli talao, about four miles north of Ahmadābād. The letter seems to have been drafted at the latter place, but signed and dated at the former.

[2] 'Doonarra, three daies journy beyond Jalore' [Jālor]. It is the place where the Ahmadābād-Ajmer road crossed the Luni River.

importunate that Bangham should accompany him to Lahore. They go by way of 'Nagoare' [Nagaur, in Jodhpur State]. Desires instructions how he shall proceed against Jādū, who it seems is still employed in the Company's service; also whether any present is to be given to the King, as he cannot be approached empty-handed. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Robert Fox's Account of the Voyage of the *James* from Batavia to Surat (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1625, *August* 6. Sailed from Batavia in company with the *Spy* and three Dutch ships (the *Goede Fortuin*, *Nieuw Bantam*, and *Engelsche Beer*). *August* 10. Anchored at 'Sabacore' [*see* p. 13]. *August* 15. The *London* came in, bound for Batavia. *August* 16. All sailed. *September* 15. The *Spy* sent ahead to Surat. *September* 29. Saw the coast near Dābhol. *September* 30. Captured a junk of about 20 tons, which had been taken by Malabars five days earlier. Heard of the arrival of the *Jonas*, *Anne*, &c., and of four Portuguese galleons lying off Bassein. *October* 3. Took a Malabar junk, but released her, 'being shee did lade in the Magulls cuntrey.' *October* 13. Met a fleet consisting of three English and three Dutch ships. *October* 14. It was decided to stand over to Diu, lest the Portuguese should have intercepted the fleet from England. The *Scout* was sent to Surat. *October* 16. Saw Diu, but the Portuguese squadron was not there. *October* 19. It was determined to make for Surat. *October* 23. Reached the Bar of Swally, where the President and two merchants came on board. *October* 27. The three Dutch ships came into the Hole with news that the Portuguese fleet was riding about Bassein, 'tottered and torne' after its fight with the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion*. *October* 28. The *Spy* was sent to Persia in search of the fleet. (7 *pp.*)

Richard Monk's Account of the Same Voyage (*Ibid.*, vol. xl).

1625, *August* 6. The fleet sailed. *August* 10. Put into Sebuku. *August* 15. The *London* (from England) anchored by them. *August* 16. Sailed again. *September* 15. The pinnace was sent to Surat with letters. *September* 29. Made the coast of India to the southwards of Dābhol. *September* 30. Overhauled a junk,

which gave them news from Surat. *October* 3. Took a Malabar junk from Cambay, but released her. *October* 13. Met three Dutch ships, with the *Jonas*, *Anne*, and a pinnace from the Red Sea. *October* 14. With the consent of the Dutch, the whole fleet made for Diu, except the pinnace, which was sent to Surat. *October* 16. Found that the Portuguese fleet was not at Diu; so stood away after dark. *October* 19. Directed their course for Surat. *October* 23. Anchored in Swally Road. *October* 25. Sighted the three Dutch ships that had left Batavia at the same time as the *James*. *October* 28. The *Scout* [*should be Spy*] sailed for Persia. (5 *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Messrs. Wylde, Hoare, and Page, August 19, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 99).

An offer from certain merchants of Ahmadābād to purchase the quicksilver in the next fleet (up to 400 maunds) at 100 rupees per maund is declined, as it can be sold to better advantage at Surat. It is decided to defer any investment in indigo at Ahmadābād until after the arrival of the fleet. Finding that, following the practice of the 'Moore marchants', the house-brokers now take 2 per cent. for brokerage on the calicoes bought in the factory, whereas they formerly took but one, it is ordered that in future they shall take the 2 per cent. but shall pay half of it into the Company's account, 'insomuch as one of those taken by the Moore brokers is by them paid into the Custome house, and therefore is in effect but one per cent., but our masters doe there paye that one per cento to the Customer, which accomplisheth 3½ per cento, whereas the Moores paye but 2½ per cento upon their goods and the other one is paid at sale thereof.' Further, whereas the pursers in buying provisions have been in the habit of taking one pice in a mahmūdī (or more) as 'disturye' [*see* p. 32 *note*], in future all such discounts are to be credited to the Company. (1 *p.*)

Goods to be Provided for England, 1625 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 100).

Narrow baftas, 5,000 corge; broad baftas, 2,500 corge; 'dutties Dulka,' 2,500 corge; baftas dyed 'watchett', 25 corge; special narrow baftas, 200 corge; 'seriahs', 200 corge; 'necanees,' 250

corge; 'dimitties,' 200 pieces; 'quesos cullered,' 500 pieces; 'thred tapseels,' 300 pieces; 'semianos,' 1,000 'chuckree' [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 93]; 'callicoe lawnes,' 4,000 pieces; 'amber-trees,' to the value of 10,000 mahmūdīs; flat (Sarkhej) indigo, 1,334 bales; round (Biāna) indigo, 666 bales; gum-lac, 900 maunds; aloes Socotrina, 300 maunds; preserved ginger, 30 maunds; 'quilts of cuttany' [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 10], 40; bloodstones, 5 baskets; Lahore carpets, 30. Total estimated cost, 1,264,389 mahmūdīs, in addition to 300,000 mahmūdīs for pepper. *Annexed*: List showing what proportion of the above is to be procured in Ahmadābād, with the addition of saltpetre and gunpowder. Total estimated cost, 187,039 mahmūdīs. (*In all 3 pp.*)

President Kerridge at Surat to John Bangham at Court, September 8, 1625 (*O.C.* 1205).

Wrote last night, but forgot to enclose the parwāna from Khwāja Abūl Hasan for Bangham's good usage at Samāna; this he now sends. Mr. Young has stated that Asaf Khān desires some English spectacles; so a case containing two pairs is forwarded for him. Hears that he also wishes for a surgeon; should this be the case, the best in the fleet shall be sent up, or one shall be written for expressly from England. Directs Bangham to inform Asaf Khān and Khwāja Abūl Hasan that this instant 'Nadir Zaman' [Nādir uz-Zamān] has arrived from Goa; he has begged that Bangham will give his 'dowa tesselim'[1] to them both and certify them that he has brought those things they desired him to purchase. He also requests Khwāja Abūl Hasan to send him a parwāna commanding all Governors to safe-conduct him to Ahmadābād and then onwards to the 'Durbare' [court: Pers. *darbār*]. He has brought two thrones, one for the King and the other for the 'Begum' [Nūr Jahān Begam], which are very heavy but very good. (*Holograph. Damaged. With an addition written in Persian by Nādir uz-Zamān to the same effect as above. Endorsed as received November* 29. 1 *p.*)

[1] Arabic *duā*, benediction or good wishes, and *taslīm*, a salutation.

JOHN WILLOUGHBY [AT AGRA?] TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, SEPTEMBER 21, 1625 (*O.C.* 1206).

Understands from Mr. Offley that Bangham has reached Lahore. Wishes the latter had arrived before his own departure. While there he was basely treated by John Goodwin, and it was baser still of the latter to write to Mr. Offley that he (Willoughby) intended to run away, and that Āsaf Khān had paid him 1,300 rupees for the great pearl, which is absolutely false. 'Donngee' [*see* p. 34], who received the money, knows that it was 800 rupees gross. Begs Bangham to inquire into this and write the truth. (*Damaged. Endorsed as received October* 7. 1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. YOUNG, WYLDE, AND HOARE, SEPTEMBER 24, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 103).

The broker sent into the Deccan for pepper has been unable to obtain any, 'Virgee Vora' having offered to give the merchants a quarter of a mahmūdī per maund higher than the English may tender. As 'Virgee Vora' has now slightly modified his terms, and there is a fear lest the Dutch ('haveing allready a great estate arryved out of Holland to be this yeare returned') will interpose and secure the pepper, it is decided to close with him. Hopkinson is to be ordered to provide 1,200 'churles' [bales: *see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 60] of indigo immediately; and the Agra factors are to be supplied with 8,000 rupees to purchase Biāna indigo. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE TO HIS FATHER [IN ENGLAND], SEPTEMBER 30, 1625 (*O.C.* 1207).

Wrote last from Surat by the *Star*, which sailed on April 14. After that he was ordered to Cambay and thence to Ahmadābād, where he met the bearer of these lines, their ancient friend, Mr. Robert Young, who was on his way from the court to take his passage from Surat for England. The President and Council appointed Bangham to take Young's place as chief factor at the Mogul's court, with an increase of 20*l.* in his wages. Trusts his brother Nicholas has long since reached home in safety. His brother Edward went in the *James* for Batavia, but is probably by

this time back in Surat. Has travelled 1,200 miles to this place, but is in good health, though he had some sickness on the way. Awaits the return of the King from 'the could clymate of Cashmeer', which by report will be shortly; then he must follow the court wherever it goes. Has sent him some agate hafts and trenchers by Mr. Young. Commendations to his mother, his brother Nicholas and his wife, his brother William and his wife, his brother Larmitt and sister Judith, Robert, Elizabeth, Susan, and other relatives; also to Mr. and Mrs. Wright, Mr. Abraham Decerfe, Mr. Morris, &c. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO NICHOLAS BANGHAM IN ENGLAND, SEPTEMBER 30, 1625 (*O.C.* 1207 & 1208).

Wrote him by the *Star*, having then returned from Persia with his brother Edward, who has now gone with Captain Weddell to Batavia. Left Surat on April 15 for Cambay to sell some tapestry and Abbot's emeralds to the Governor there, but failed to agree on terms. At Ahmadābād he met Robert Young, in whose place he was sent to court. Reached Lahore on August 29, where he found John Goodwin with some articles for sale. Most of what they have is tapestry, for which there is scarcely any other buyer in the country than the King. Expects more goods from Surat and Agra. Hopes to return in a year or two. There is little change since his brother left. 'Sultan Ckorom stands still out in rebellion, notwithstanding [he] hathe been divers times discomfitted by his fathers forces, over the principall wherof Sultaun [Par]viz and Mahobett Ckaun were genner [als.] possession [Khānkhānān?] and his son [ ] Derrab [Khān] were on the contrary [part?]. Mahobett Ckaun c[ut] off the hedd of the sonn[1] [and] sent the father p[risoner to the] King at Cashmer, [where] hee had smale [ ]. Hee is at liberty. Sultan Belaukie,[2] Cosroes sonne, is [nowe?] in favor with his grand[father] the King; but Assaff Ckaun still sways the kingdom, and is our greatest frend.' For affairs at Surat, &c., refers him to the returning factors. Commendations to friends and relatives. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] See Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. p. 417.

[2] Bulāqī. son of Khusrū.

John Bangham at Lahore to [John Benthall in Persia, September 30, 1625] (*O.C.* 1207).

After leaving Gombroon they had another encounter with the Portuguese, who after half a day's fight were glad to make for Muskat. Reached Surat on March 8, where the *Star* was laden and dispatched to England. In her went 'Nacddy Beag', the Persian ambassador, Heynes, Hutchinson, and Captain Ely.[1] His mission to Cambay, Ahmadābād, and Lahore. Was unable to invest his correspondent's money, but hopes to do so next year. Sums paid for customs on his goods. Could not sell the carpet and stuffs here, as they are at present worth less than at Gombroon, owing to great store having come overland. For Surat news refers him to the factors there. Goodwin sends his commendations. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to Thomas Barker in Persia, September 30, 1625 (*O.C.* 1207).

Same news as in the preceding letters. Left Barker's carpets at Ahmadābād in the care of Hopkinson. Charges paid on them. The King is on his way back from Kashmir. Khurram still in rebellion. It is rumoured that 'hee will flie for refuge to Shaugh' [Abbās?],[2] but that is unlikely. Refers him to their friends at Surat for other news. (*Copy. Damaged.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Jonas* by President Kerridge, Messrs. Wylde and Hoare, Captains Clevenger and Goodall, Eustace Man, Joseph Wills, and Robert Smith, October 9, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 104).

Recently, upon the arrival of four Portuguese galleons and eleven frigates at the Bar of Swally, it was decided by the Dutch and English not to go forth, but to await an attack in the port. Two days ago the enemy's fleet departed, and now news has come that it has been seen in chase of three ships lately arrived on the coast. As it is probable that the latter are English ships, either from

[1] This individual is not referred to elsewhere, unless he be the Thomas Healy mentioned on p. 45.

[2] See Sir H. Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. p. 432.

home or from Batavia, it is determined that the vessels at Swally shall go to their assistance. The three Dutch ships have undertaken to accompany the English. (¾ *p.*)

Commission and Instructions to Captains Clevenger and Goodall and Andrew Evans, October 11, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 104).

To proceed at once to sea in the *Jonas*, *Anne*, and *Scout*, accompanied by the Dutch, for the purpose of assisting the expected fleet against the Portuguese. Clevenger is appointed admiral and chief commander, assisted by a council composed of Captain Goodall, Eustace Man, Andrew Evans, William Eaton, Joseph Wills, Edmund Sayers,[1] and Robert Smith. To avoid disputes with the Dutch as to precedence, councils should be held alternately aboard the English and Dutch admirals. (*Signed copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

President Hawley and Council at Batavia to the Company, October 13, 1625 (*O.C.* 1210).

. . . . Governor Speult arrived from Amboyna on August 25. Hearing that he was to depart for Surat, as General of the fleet appointed for Persia, Hawley and his colleagues protested against his employment[2]; but their complaints were disregarded and Speult embarked on September 4 . . . . On August 25 last they dispatched the pinnace *Rose* to Masulipatam with 20 English and 10 blacks on board, and therein sent Mr. Harby's coral, with cloves, sandal-wood, alum and ready money to the amount of 34,333 rials. As the season was far spent, she was ordered to make but a short stay. Last year that factory was supplied with upwards of 20,000 rials, and had 119 bales of goods ready for transmission. Thomas Mills was very desirous to return to England, but they have urged him to stay a year longer. . . . (½ *p.*)

[1] Or Saris. For a notice of him see *The Voyage of John Saris to Japan* (Hakluyt Society, 1900), p. 210.

[2] He was the person chiefly responsible for the 'massacre' of the English factors at Amboyna. For the protest see the *Dagh Register*, 1624–29, p. 190.

Consultation held aboard the *Royal James* by President Kerridge, Messrs. Wylde and Hoare, Captains Weddell, Clevenger, and Goodall, and Messrs. Man, Swanley, Eaton, Sayers, and Wills, October 24, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 106).

The English and Dutch squadron lately sent from Swally having returned without seeing the Portuguese, and it being thought that the fleet from England, in consequence of the attack, has diverted its course to Persia in the hope of finding some English or Dutch ships there, it is now debated whether the *James*, *Jonas*, and *Anne* should be sent thither at once, without waiting for the Dutch, who do not intend to start until their fleet from Batavia arrives. As, however, the 'councell of seamen' avers that the *Anne* cannot without great risk put to sea until her leaks are stopped, and as some time must necessarily be spent in landing the treasure from the *James* and supplying her with provisions and water, it is decided to defer the expedition, and in the meantime to push on with the repair of the *Anne* and the *Jonas*. The pinnace *Spy* is to be at once fitted for a voyage, and the pinnace *Scout* is to be laid up temporarily at Surat. 'Peter Heyleioun' of Blois, a fugitive from the Portuguese,[1] is entertained as a sailor at 24*s*. a month; Peter Roderick, 'a mesticoe' [Port. *mestiço*, half-caste], is to have 14*s*., and Thomas Muckwooll 10*s*. per month. The pursers are to furnish a list of sailors, &c., lately admitted. (1½ *pp*.)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Messrs. Wylde and Hoare, October 26, 1625 (*Ibid*., p. 107).

The *Spy* is to be dispeeded in two days' time under John Phelps to the Persian Gulf with letters for Captain Blyth and the factors at Gombroon. The Dutch are not to be acquainted with this intention, lest they should delay her. (½ *p*.)

[1] This was no doubt the 'Peter Hillion, a Frenchman', mentioned in a note on p. 50. Taylor says that he deserted from the Portuguese during their blockade of Swally.

Commission and Instructions from President Kerridge and Council to John Phelps, October 27, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 108).

To sail as speedily as possible to Jask, and there dispatch an Englishman overland to Gombroon with the letters herewith delivered; then to return forthwith, endeavouring on the way to meet with the *James* and other ships shortly to be sent to Persia. To glean what intelligence he can while at Jask regarding the Portuguese. He is not to lose time in chasing vessels; and should he on the outward voyage meet Captain Blyth's squadron he is to return with them to Swally. (*Signed copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Kerridge and Council at Surat to the Factors in Persia, October 28, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 173).

'The 5th of September last four Portugall galliones arived att Damon, of whom at their first landfall one was cast awaye neere the barr of St. Johnes [*see* p. 72]. The rest, seekinge harbour, repayred to Bombayee (twixt Bassieen and Chaule), where another was cast awaye enteringe the barr. The other two went safely in; to whom shortly came two other galliones and a small vessell, all of one company sent forth from Mescatt with intent to wayelaye our shipps at their arivall on this coast; but the afforesayd shipp-wracke and other necessities made those remayninge attend fayrer weather. The small shippe mencioned, cominge agrownd in their port, was also made unserviceable. The 19th ditto it pleased God that the *Jonas* with the *Anne* arrived in Swally from Mocha, but the latter soe leake that with very much labour and industry shee was dayly preserved from sinckinge. The 22th three Dutch shipps[1] arived from the Neitherlands, whose President heere by intelligence from his Majores[2] ascertayned us our masters had prepared (yf not dispeeded) four shipps for this place, whose arivall with howerly expectation wee long awayted. The re-maynder of the galliones aforemencioned, under command off Nuno Alores Bottelio, beinge it seemes the four best of that fleete,

[1] The *Goude Leeuw*, *Heusden*, and *Walcheren*.

[2] The directors of the Dutch East India Company were so styled.

the 4th of this present moneth arived at the barr of Suratt, and thence to the roade of Swally, with semblance (it beeinge springe tides) to enter the port, where both our shipps and the Dutch were prepared for their reception;[1] whoe, alteringe his decembled purpose, the 7th ditto early sett sayle from thence with wind and tide towards Damon; when wee supposinge the approach of our shipps, eyther from England or Battavia, had induced this his soe soddaine departure, wee perswaded the Dutch to joyne with us in persuite, at least to observe the event of this his altered resolution; which they alleadginge was done purposly to drawe us forth to encounter greater forces, utterly refused. Two dayes affter wee had certayne intelligence of three shipps, eyther Dutch or English, anchored neere Gundivee, and that the four galliones had encountered them; which by sundry advices beinge confirmed, the Duch when to late were induced to accompany us, and all five shipps the 10th ditto sett sayle from Swally, and four dayes affter mett the *Royal James* at sea returned from Jacquatra [Batavia], whoe with them continued in search both of our friends and enimies, but findinge neyther, the 22th corrant returned to their port of Swally, where yesterdaye arived also three other Dutch shipps whoe, cominge with the *James* from Battavia, lost company at sea, and aveereth to have seene four Portugall galliones neere the shoare of Bassiene, whoe, though to winwards of them, came noe neerer then to descrye their cullours; wherby it is evident that the three aforemencioned shipps which fought were ouers from England.' The *James* brought news that four ships were coming to Surat from home under Captain Blyth, and that Sir Robert Sherley was expected to embark in one of them (the *Lion*): so possibly the latter went to Persia to land him, and the rest, on being attacked, thought it best to follow. The *James* and *Anne* are now about to be dispatched to Gombroon, in company with six Dutch ships, to rescue the new arrivals from the Portuguese. No supply of goods from India is to be expected in Persia this year. The Surat factory is 20,000*l.* in debt for goods purchased for England, and the money brought by the *James* from Batavia will only discharge that liability. The Company have no doubt signified by the *Lion* their intentions regarding the trade in Persia. Nothing consigned to Surat should

[1] See Van den Broeck's *Voyagie*, p. 106.

be detained at Gombroon on any pretext whatever. Any goods intended for England should be ready for embarkation at the arrival of the *James*. The *Jonas* they intend to send home immediately. The English plantation on Pulo Lagundy is a failure. A copy of this letter is to be sent to the Company, if possible. (*Copy*. $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

John Benthall and George Smith at Gombroon to the Factors at Ispahān, November 4, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 168).

The *Lion*, one of Blyth's ships from England to Surat, has to-day arrived here. Off Damān the fleet was attacked by four Portuguese galleons, and the *Lion*, being 'a slug' and her consorts keeping away, had to bear the brunt. After several hours' fight and the loss of her master, gunner, and others, she made her escape and repaired hither. They intend to take ashore the treasure and part of her cargo and send her to Ormus, where she may ride safely under the defence of the castle. (*Copy*. $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Anne* by President Kerridge, Captains Weddell, Clevenger and Goodall, and Messrs. Wylde, Hoare, Man, Swanley, Wills, and Evans, November 5, 1625 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 109).

The *Anne* is pronounced unfit for a voyage to England, though the seamen think she may be repaired sufficiently to be employed in these seas. The *Jonas* must therefore be sent home instead; but as she will be needed to accompany the other two ships to Persia (the Dutch not being ready to start for some time), it is decided to defer her dispatch until after that expedition. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

John Benthall, George Smith, and John Berriman at Gombroon to the Factors at Ispahān, November 8, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 168).

The *Lion* was this morning utterly destroyed 'by the force of 20 friggotts and small boates, which boarded her within shott of the castle, soe plying their fireworkes that within an howers space shee was burnt to the water, and all her men (except 9 or 10

which were ashoare about the shipps bussines) lost eyther by fyre or water or both'. They had previously landed four chests of rials, besides some broadcloth and coral; but the rest of her cargo is lost. Three other vessels are reported as near at hand, which may be the rest of her fleet. Trust the Agent will hasten down to this port. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

[Joseph Hopkinson] at Ahmadābād to John Bangham at Court, [November?] 14, [1625] (*O.C.* 1211).

Saif Khān requests that Bangham will clear him before the Nawāb, &c., from the accusation that the English gave him the horses as a bribe, whereas Bangham knows he paid the price named for them, which he desires to have represented to Khwāja Abūl Hasan as 44,000 [rupees?]. Saif Khān says that 'the Deccannese' have laid claim to the vessel at the darbār, alleging that it belonged to Chaul, not to Muskat. To this they replied that it was a lie, but that in any case the ship was lawful prize, as not having an English pass. If the Turks give any fresh trouble at court, Bangham may point to the fact that the English have now goods and persons in their country, namely, a factory [at Mokha], Captain Clevenger having been seized on shore there with nearly forty persons and forced to land 300 bahars of pepper. On Captain Goodall stopping the junks in port, a compromise was made and Clevenger and the rest released, only three or four being left on shore to settle a factory, which the English will now be forced to visit yearly. The fleet from England, consisting of the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *Lion*, and a small ship, by report fought two days with the Portuguese near Damān. The latter had, on news of their approach, returned from the bar of Swally, where they had stayed for some days expecting the English ships (the *Jonas* and the *Anne*) to come out to them; but owing to the scrupulosity of the Dutch commander, though he had three stout ships from Europe in port, this was not done. The third day he was persuaded and sent forth the fleet, which met the *James*, with a pinnace and three of their own ships. These arrived about ten days later. They think the ships have gone to meet with the *Lion*, 'on which Sir Robert Sherly and his lady [went?][1]'. According to news

[1] This was an error. Sherley did not leave England till 1627.

from Damān many were killed and maimed in the fight, 'the small vessell blowing up her decke through oppression of men.' The Portuguese fleet is now at Bassein. Kerridge has sent the *Spy* to Persia to give the ships intelligence of the dispatch of the *James* and *Anne*, with the six Dutch ships in company, which are to leave on the 25th current. The *Jonas* returns to England this year with the *Anne's* cargo, and the *James* in February next. Indigo bought towards her lading. 'W[e are] in great want of monye in every place and run on creditt, notwithstanding the [*James*] brought ab[out the] worth of one hundred thousand r[ials] from southwards; and this [occa]sioned through the Europe shipps going for Parsia'—or rather through the Dutch commander refusing to send out his fleet to their aid. Commendations to Goodwin. Requests a copy of the receipt he gave Bangham for Mr. Roson's things. 'Padre Lord,'[1] Mr. Young, and Mr. Woolhouse[2] are to return to England in the *James*. Has been troubled with a fever and is still weak. Mr. Willoughby is daily expected here. According to report, he was in Lahore about three months ago. (*Unsigned. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

FRANCIS PINDER'S[3] ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN BLYTH'S FLEET TO INDIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xlii).

1625, *March* 5. The fleet 'enterd into wholl paye'. *March* 16. Sailed from Tilbury. *April* 9. Left the Downs. *April* 10. Lost sight of the Lizard. *April* 15. Edward Baynham, purser, and Basil Hull, surgeon, were put into the bilboes for getting drunk and refusing to attend prayers. *June* 23. It was decided by con-

[1] The Rev. Henry Lord was engaged as a chaplain for Surat on January 7, 1624, to serve for five years at 60*l.* per annum, and went out in Weddell's fleet. On his return he published a work on the doctrines of the Hindūs and Parsīs, entitled *A display of two forraigne Sects in the East Indies* (1630).

[2] The Rev. John Woolhouse, another chaplain.

[3] Master of the *Falcon*. The other vessels were the *Palsgrave* (Blyth's flagship), the *Dolphin* (under Matthew Wills), and the *Lion* (under Richard Swanley). Pinder had been a gunner on board the *Peppercorn* in the Sixth Voyage, when he was denounced by Captain Downton as 'an evill member' (*Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 223). He went out again in Shilling's fleet, apparently as master's mate of the *London*, and was afterwards given charge of a prize, the *Andrew*. His narrative of the voyage is printed by Purchas (vol. ii. p. 1787). In the present voyage he had great trouble with his officers and crew, who were in a semi-mutinous state the latter part of the time.

sultation that the *Lion*, being the worst sailer, should go ahead each night and carry the light till they came near the Cape; also that the fleet should not touch there unless necessity compelled. *July* 15. Saw the land near the Cape. *July* 24. The *Falcon* and the *Lion* lost company with their consorts in a fog. *August* 2. The *Falcon* anchored in St. Augustine's Bay [Madagascar]. *August* 3. The *Palsgrave* and the *Dolphin* arrived. *August* 6. The *Lion* came in. *August* 15. The fleet sailed. *August* 21. Passed the island of Juan de Nova. A boat was sent to it, which returned with some wildfowl and news that the remains of a wreck were visible. *August* 25. Saw 'Maiott' [Mayotta, one of the Comoro Islands]. *August* 26. Anchored at Mohilla. *August* 28. Blyth and his captains landed and visited the King, who promised to help them to provisions. *August* 29. A letter left with the King; also a ring 'to seall passes of his vessels, whearby our nation might not molest them, for he much complayned that the Fleet of Deffence took on of his vessels at his door.' *August* 30. The fleet sailed. *September* 1. The *Falcon* lost sight of the rest. *September* 19. Pinder put the coxswain in irons for striking him. *September* 21. Robert Griffin, the coxswain's mate, 'layd in the bolts' for relieving the coxswain, who had been placed on a bread and water diet, 'and because I would hav it performed I vowed that mysealfe would hav but ½ lb. of bread a day and water, so loung as he had that diet.' *October* 25. Took a junk of 80 or 90 tons from the Maldives, laden with coir and cowries. She had a crew of 29, and carried a Portuguese pass. *October* 27. Saw the coast of India. *November* 3. Passed a fleet of frigates. *November* 7. Near Chaul saw two Portuguese wrecks with 50 or 60 frigates busy about them; also a ship near the harbour. *November* 8. Some galliots and frigates chased them, but drew off on being fired at, though they continued to dog the *Falcon* for some days. The coxswain was set at liberty. *November* 19. Anchored at the Bar of Surat. *November* 20. Captain Clevenger, with the preacher and a Dutch merchant, came on board. They brought news that Blyth's ships had been on the coast but had been forced away by the Portuguese; 'also that the Portingall had rood at Swalley and sent his challenge to the English and Dutch to fight with on or more shipp or ships of them as thay pleassed, and thusse rood daring them until he had intili-

gense of the coming in of the sayd Captaine Bliyth, and that thay had bordid on of the smaller shipps of his fleet, who had bloun them of with great losse to the Portingall.' *November* 20. Anchored at Swally and delivered his papers and the prize to President Kerridge. The latter blamed him for allowing his vessel to be separated from the rest of the fleet. The mates and others presented to Kerridge certain complaints against Pinder, which he alleges the sailors were induced to sign in ignorance of their contents and 'by giving of a cup of drinck'. The President thereupon ordered him on board the *James* under Weddell, 'who I knew to be the only enimie I had living, excepting Captain Keredg; both of them groun in mallis against me for that I had spockn trueth in matters of import for my soll imployers in my former voyag, it being distastfull unto them, for which thay both then voued reveng if I cam in their power.' *November* 23. The charges against Pinder were heard before the President and Council, and he was judged blameworthy and ordered to be retained on the *James*. In answer to a question by Kerridge, he gave it as his opinion that Captain Blyth had gone to 'Cape Rosselgat' [Ras-al-hadd] to water. (79 *pp.*)

Commission and Instructions from President Kerridge and Council to Captains Weddell, Clevenger, and Goodall, November 14, 1625 (*O.C.* 1212).[1]

Their three ships, the *Royal James*, *Jonas*, and *Anne*, are to proceed to the coast of Persia, keeping company for their better defence against the Portuguese. Captain Weddell is to have the supreme command as admiral, the *Jonas* to be the vice-admiral, 'and the *Ann* onlie to weare her flagg in the mizen.' Their mission is to meet with and assist the fleet from England, which has been forced from this coast by the Portuguese. To go first to Jask, without stopping to make prizes, though on their return they may capture any vessels belonging to places under Portuguese government, or to Chaul or Dābhol, if not provided with passes. The *Spy* has been sent to Jask with letters; if they meet her, she is to join company with them. From Jask the accompanying letters should

[1] A second copy, dated November 18, will be found at pp. 109 and 115 of *Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i.; and a third at p. 176 of *Persia*, vol. i.

be dispatched overland to the factors at Gombroon; and Weddell is to send others to arrange a meeting with the fleet from England at some suitable port. These ships may proceed to Kuhistak (if thought desirable), but are not to go to Gombroon except upon emergency, and then they are not to make any stay there. No private goods are to be landed, lest delay should be caused thereby. To avoid any excuse of this kind, no cargo has been put on board the ships, and freight (to the value of 2,000*l.*) proffered by the natives has been refused; while the factors at Gombroon have been instructed to put any goods they may have ready on board Blyth's ships or else to send them later by the Dutch. Great care is to be taken lest the Portuguese frigates surprise their boats. In the event of their failing to find the fleet from England, they may anchor at Gombroon and take in goods, but are not to stay more than 24 hours and then return to Surat. If, on the other hand, a junction be effected, the two fleets are to return in company to encounter the Portuguese, who will doubtless be waiting on this coast. Should they meet Blyth's squadron on the outward voyage, they are to send on the letters for the Company, &c., to Gombroon in the Dutch ships, under the charge of David Gelly. If not, he should be landed at Jask, and journey with the letters overland. The *Scout* will go to sea with them, and then proceed on her destined voyage. All matters of moment are to be determined by the three captains with the aid of Eustace Man, Richard Swanley, and William Eaton; [Edmund] Saris to be registrar, and Weddell to have 'a double or swaying voyce'. *P.S.* (*November* 22)—The *Falcon*, one of Blyth's ships, having now come in, is ordered to proceed with the fleet. Should they meet with Blyth before reaching the Gulf, Messrs. Young and Eaton are to open the Company's letters; and if they find that any considerable part of the *Falcon's* cargo is intended for Persia, she may be sent thither alone, to return with the Dutch.. But if the two squadrons meet within a day's sail of Gombroon, they may all go into that port, where they may remain a couple of days if necessary. Robert Young and [Edmund] Sayers added to the Council. This commission is to be communicated to all the captains, and also to Captain Blyth and the Gombroon factors. (*Copy, signed by Kerridge, Wylde, and Hoare. 5 pp.*)

President Kerridge and Council at Surat to the Factors in Persia, November 18, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 174).

Since writing their last letter they have decided to send the *Jonas* with the other ships to Persia, both for their better security and also because they intend that, as soon as Blyth's fleet is met with, the English shall separate from the Dutch. Upon receipt of this letter, any silk, &c., intended for England or India should be put on board Blyth's fleet, and the latter dispatched immediately to meet Weddell's ships. Should the Persians place obstacles in the way of the embarkation, the fleet is not to be delayed, as the Dutch will no doubt bring on the goods. The *Scout* has been privately sent to England with the letters from Batavia and Surat, of which copies are now enclosed for transmission overland by way of Aleppo. If the Persians persist in their idea of attacking Muskat, 'doe not you denye our assistance, but rather seme to encourrage them; wee also uppon good conditions may be induced to prosecute, though before it can be undertaken the enimyes present forces must bee broaken,' and the Company's opinion known. If David Gelly has not arrived in time to return in Blyth's ships, he may come with the Dutch. Their request for rosewater, Shīrāz wine, &c., should not be forgotten. *P.S.* (*22nd*)—The *Falcon*, belonging to Blyth's fleet, has now come in. From her it has been ascertained that the other ships were bound for Surat and have been driven away by the Portuguese. For other intelligence refer to the enclosed letter to the Company of this date, to be forwarded with the rest. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Robert Fox's Account of the Voyage of the *James* from Surat to Persia (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1625, *November* 3. The *Anne* went aground but was got off. *November* 18. The *Falcon* arrived, with a prize of 50 tons burden. *November* 24. The *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, [*Falcon*] and six Dutch ships sailed for Persia. *December* 13. They were off Jask, and a letter was sent on shore for conveyance to Gombroon. *December* 18. Anchored in Gombroon Road. (2½ *pp.*)

Richard Monk's Account of the Same Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).

1625, *November* 3. The *Anne* touched ground. *November* 18. The *Falcon* arrived from England, with a prize. *November* 24. The fleet sailed. *December* 13. A letter sent ashore at Jask for conveyance to Gombroon. *December* 18. Anchored off the latter port. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Francis Pinder's Account of the Same Voyage (*Ibid.*, vol. xlii).[1]

November [ ]. The *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, *Falcon*, *Scout* and six Dutch ships sailed. The latter had taken in native goods on freight to the extent of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* This was first offered to the English, but Kerridge refused it; nor would he send any cargo on the Company's account, though Indian commodities would have made a hundred per cent. in three months, and private men were allowed to send goods 'to their perticular ends'. Moreover, at the cost of a little delay, the *Falcon* might have been sent home with a good cargo in place of the pinnace *Scout*. *December* 18. They reached Gombroon, where they heard of the disaster to the *Lion*, but no news of Blyth's other two ships. While at Gombroon endeavours were made to save some of the ordnance, &c., from the *Lion*. While thus engaged, two sails appeared and, thinking they might be the *Palsgrave* and the *Dolphin*, Pinder and Fox went off to them in a country boat, but they proved to be Portuguese frigates. The two Englishmen were obliged to spend the night at Ormus, and on returning next morning were chased by the Portuguese, with the result that they were forced to land and walk six miles to Gombroon. Pinder notes that Nicholas Woolley sold the coir taken by the *Falcon*, but he thinks 'som mad frinds with it'. (2 *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Messrs. Wylde and Hoare, November 20, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 112).

It is determined to send home the *Scout* with advices to the Company. Her destination is to be kept a secret, especially from the Dutch. ($\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

[1] Pinder was now on board the *James* (see p. 105) and in a critical mood.

Commission and Instructions from President Kerridge and Council to Andrew Evans, Master of the *Scout*, November 20, 1625 (*Ibid.*, p. 113).

In case of his death he is to be succeeded by William Minors, his mate. Power given to govern and control the mariners. He is to make his way to England as speedily as possible. Not to make prize of vessels belonging to the Comoro Islands. If he captures a Portuguese ship, a strict account is to be taken of the cargo. Letters to be left at the Comoros or the Cape. To land his purser at the first English port to carry the letters for the Company to London. (1¼ *pp.*)

William Minors's Account of the Homeward Voyage of the *Scout* (*Marine Records*, vol. xli).

1625, *November* 24. Weighed from Swally, in company with four English (*Royal James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, and *Falcon*) and six Dutch vessels (*Goede Fortuin*, *Nieuw Bantam*, *Beer*, *Goude Leeuw*, *Walcheren*, and *Heusden*), bound for Persia. 'Wee sawe 17 sayle of [Portuguese] friggets, which guarded the river at Surratt that none of their junckes should come forth untill they had payde 20,000 rupees for theire passe.' *November* 26. Quitted the Persia fleet. *December* 7. Saw the coast of Malindi. *December* 17. Sighted Mozambique castle, though they reckoned themselves near Mohilla; 'but wee had plotts [i. e. maps] which were more fitt for fier then for to use upon the water.'[1] *December* 20. Anchored on the south-eastern side of Mohilla. *December* 21. Took in water and provisions, and sailed again. 1626, *January* 20. Anchored in Table Bay, where they found two Dutch ships, the *Wapen van Hoorn* and the *Eendracht*, from Batavia bound for Holland. Minors was sent ashore to look for letters, 'but they were taken away befor; onely wee founde written uppon a stone of the *Starr* and the two Dutch shippes, the *Maidvandorph* and *Weezopp* [*see* p. 76], the 14th of October, and there departure

[1] He mentions 'Danniells', 'Lucas', and a Portuguese 'platt' as being in use on board. Peyton, in the journal of his voyage of 1615 (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* 19276), speaks of 'the plattes of John Danyells making (being Mercators projection)'.

thence the 25th of dicto.' *January* 23. The Dutch *Leiden*, bound for Batavia and nine months out from Holland, came into the road. She supplied the *Scout* with necessaries; 'as alsoe wee imparted unto them beefes and sheepe, which wee got ashoare and they by their evill useadg of the blackes coulde not obtaine.' *January* 27. Sailed, leaving the three Hollanders in the road. *February* 9. Anchored at St. Helena. Went ashore for lemons, but found none bigger than walnuts, the rest having been lately gathered by the Portuguese. *February* 11. On going ashore, they 'sawe a musteezo [*see* p. 98] with a white flagge, who toulde us that there were three more uppon the ilande, who all had ranne away from the Portingales, and that there was a carricke caste away; which was true, for they landed all thire goods and six peeces of ordinaunce, makeinge good the ilande six monethes. In the interim came three Dutch shipps and the *Starr*, who woulde have watered but they woulde not permitt them.[1] And alsoe the *Midleburrogh* came by and would have watered; but there was come from Fernandobuck[2] two galloones and four small shipps for to fetch the goodes which were saved in the carricke; who, seeinge the *Midleburrogh* in such distresse, without masts or sayles, wayde and gave her chase, beinge two gallions of warr, and foughte with her from four in the afternoone untill the next morneinge; but the Spannish captine haveinge his hande shott of, they lefte there chase, plyinge for the ilande, and the *Midelburrogh* for Hollande.' *February* 12. 'This morneinge the master sente mee with the boate ashoare with the musteezo to Chapple Bay, where wee founde the three other musteezos. Alsoe wee sawe the carricke, broken in 1000 peeces; and sawe all the places which they had fortified, and a greate number of pumpians [pumpkins] which they planted wee broughte aboarde.' The *Scout* sailed for England. *February* 19. Saw Ascension. *February* 24. Crossed the Line. *March* 10. Sighted Fogo [one of the Cape Verd Islands]. *March* 27. Saw 'the Ilande of St. Michaells' [S. Miguel, in the Azores]. *March* 31. Carried away the foremast, but a portion of

[1] For an account of this incident see the narrative referred to on p. 46, *note*. The three Dutch ships were the *Maagd van Dort*, *Leeuwin*, and *Wesp*. The fleet arrived at St. Helena on November 20, 1625; and on the 23rd the Portuguese entrenchments were bombarded. Finding, however, that the ships were only expending their ammunition to little purpose, the voyage was resumed.

[2] Pernambuco (Brazil).

it was rigged up again. *April* 7. Sighted the Scilly Islands. (*Last entry*. 23½ *pp*.)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, CAPTAINS WEDDELL, CLEVENGER, AND GOODALL, AND MESSRS. WYLDE AND HOARE, NOVEMBER 22, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 114).

The *Falcon* arrived yesterday, having lost company with the rest of her fleet. She brought with her a small vessel which she had seized near the Maldives, 'to the extreame hinderance of time and danger of her own surprize by the enemye, who laye at Bombayee in the way of her passage.' It is resolved that, after landing part of her cargo, she shall proceed to Persia with the other ships; that Robert Young shall be sent in the *James*, with orders that he and William Eaton shall, on meeting Blyth's fleet, open the Company's letters, and deliver to the factors in Persia the goods intended for them; and that Francis Pinder, in consequence of the complaints of his crew, be dismissed from the *Falcon*, Richard Swanley being placed in charge of her until Captain Blyth appoints a fresh master. James Shorter, a sailor in the *Anne*, is given 24*s*. a month. (1 *p*.)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. WYLDE, HOARE, AND PAGE, NOVEMBER 28, 1625 (*Ibid*., p. 116).

By agreement between Robert Young and Van den Broeck, the Dutch President, on the arrival of the *James* from Batavia a sum of 32,000 rials of eight was lent at Swally to the Dutch for shipment to Persià; this amount has now been repaid at Surat, but the Dutch claim 640 rials of eight, which they have had to pay for customs. It is decided to refuse the demand, and refer the claim to the Company in England. The Dutch and English factors at Ahmadābād having agreed to make no further investment in indigo without the joint approbation of both, and the Dutch being now desirous of buying some, it is agreed that 500 or 600 churls be bought in common, and equally divided. A box of letters for the Company sent upon the *Anne* being now in custody of the President, it is decided to open and peruse them. (1 *p*.)

Captain Weddell off Jask to the Factors in Persia, December 10, 1625 (*Factory Records*, *Persia*, vol. i. p. 179).

Their joint Anglo-Dutch fleet sailed from Swally on November 24 and reached 'this port of Jasques' to-day. They will perceive that his time at Gombroon will be very short; so he begs that some country boats should be in readiness for landing the *Falcon's* goods. The pinnace *Spy* was met on December 2, and brought news that there were some English ships at Gombroon, which he trusts are Blyth's. The *Scout* parted company for England on December [November] 27 off Diu Head. The Dutch have been told that she is bound for Socotra to look for the missing fleet. The plantation on Lagundy has proved a failure, and the factors have returned to Batavia, where they have bought a new house from the Dutch for 20,000 rials of eight. 'The Portugalls which fought with Captain Blyth are gott into a hole called Bombayee, where they are fittinge themselves upp againe for the warr, and looke for three more shipps from Goa to joyne forces with them.' One of them is the great ship which lost the head of her mainmast in the first day's fight; another is a galleon which came from Lisbon last year. *P.S.*—Commendations to his Persian friends. Their ambassador is no doubt in England by this time. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

John Willoughby at Gwalior to John Bangham at Lahore, December 23, 1625 (*O.C.* 1213).

This serves to accompany the letters from England. The President writes that Young has gone to Persia, 'our Kinge is dead,' and the fleet has not yet reached Swally. He is now going down to Surat with 176 camels, accompanied by Robert Clitherow and Crispin Blackden. Will be glad to serve him at Surat. Wishes him 'a merrire Christmase thene I ame like two have, beinge evry night heth-heth[1]'. (*Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

Joseph Hopkinson at Ahmadābād to John Bangham [at Lahore], December 23, 1625 (*O.C.* 1214).

Received his of October 28 nearly two months after date, owing to the messenger staying at Agra. Sent his letters on to Surat,

[1] This is probably a specimen of word-coining. It seems to be intended to represent the shivering produced by fever.

as desired. Perceives how badly Mīr Mūsā has treated him in taking two pieces of his tapestry 'to make his owne moozra[1] with the King'. Thinks he might have left the other goods in Lahore, and gone to the court with Mīr Mūsā. Perceives the discontent he has received from Surat in their curtailing his title; still, there is little difference between chief agent and chief factor, and his authority for the court is as ample as that of any of his predecessors. He should not yield precedence to the Dutch on any occasion; and although Signor [Heuten?] is a more ancient merchant, if he had not the manners to give Bangham place in his own house (which is the custom here) he should be given none in Bangham's. Cannot believe that either the Surat factors or Goodwin would disparage Bangham to the Dutch. Should he chance to go to Agra, he should of course refrain from meddling with Offley's business; and no doubt Offley will have too much discretion to interfere with him. Heard from Surat that the President feared dissensions between Goodwin and Bangham; whereupon he wrote to Kerridge that he was sure this would not be so, 'and assured him by passed experience what stead your language was to us in the time of our imprisonment, and now also by reason therof you would not suffer words of no effect or of a divers sence to bee foisted into our firmanes as heretofore;' he therefore urged that Bangham's youth should be no hindrance to him, and that he should have the same repute as older men if he performed the business as well. Kerridge replied that he hoped well of Bangham, and had written to him 'for a firmaune of more validity then the former in confirmation of our late agreement with Sife Chaun'. Payments on Bangham's account. Thanks for his news regarding the King's abode, Āsaf Khān's sickness and recovery, &c. Has sent a copy of his last, dated November 14, because the bearer of that is reported to have been slain on his way. Begs him to take over from Goodwin the writer's enamel &c.; has heard nothing of them for many months. The horse given to Hopkinson by Saif Khān, which he also entrusted to Goodwin, should be either charged to the Company's account or sold. 'That foolish fellow Cletherowe, in a drunken fitt, while hee was here gave him a slash over the necke with a sword, as I am

[1] See note on p. 126 of the 1618–21 volume.

informed.' Arrival of the *Falcon* at Swally about the middle of [November]. Her master, Francis Pinder, having lost the rest of the fleet about Mohilla, captured a Portuguese prize laden with nothing but ropes, and towed her from the height of Goa at great risk to his own ship; for which and other unruliness he has been displaced, and Swanley made master instead. She sailed for Persia on November 22 with the rest of the fleet. From her it was learnt that the ships that engaged the Portuguese were the *Palsgrave*, *Lion*, and *Dolphin*, under the command of Captain Blyth. At their departure from England it was rumoured that Ormus had been retaken by the Portuguese. In his former he reported that 'Padre Lord' was going for Persia, with the intention of then returning to England by the *James*, 'and Padre Woolhouse to bee taken ashore;' this is not so, for Kerridge refused Lord permission to go, saying, 'hee would not have it reported that a padre should forsake India for such slight matters.' Some petty differences between Lord and the members of the Council have been reconciled by Kerridge, and 'so hee still stayeth'. Explains his action about Benthall's goods. Young, upon some discontents given him by the President, has gone to Persia with the fleet. Robert Tottle has lately arrived at Surat, 'who, having sould divers things to Sultan Pervese, hath brought his perwanna for topha [1], &c., and thether wee are apointed to send what is here unsould that may bee included in that title.' The proceeds of any sales of the writer's goods should be remitted to Ahmadābād. Mr. Heynes in the *Star* quitted the *James* on April 30. The *London* met the *Blessing* and the *William* at the Cape. The *James* brought news [from Batavia] of so great a mortality among our people on the island where they had intended to fortify, that they could not man their ships, and had to borrow assistance from the Dutch to fetch away the survivors. Intends to return to England next year; and would have gone this time, had his private goods been sold. *P.S.*—The *Falcon* brought no letters from the Company. Clement and 'Goordas' send commendations. 'We were promised som sack to keepe Christmas withall, but yet it cometh not; we still live in hope.' If Bangham is denied the title of Agent and his wages are not increased, he might come down and accompany

[1] Pers. *tuhfa*, a present, or goods suitable for such a purpose.

the writer to England. The sooner he goes the sooner he will return, and with higher wages. Hears only of one factor arrived in these ships, but some say there are three. (*Damaged. 4 pp.*)

THOMAS JOHNSON AT MASULIPATAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA, DECEMBER 23, 1625 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 151).

Mr. Mills has settled a factory in Petapoli and made Mr. Edward Trafford chief there, 'myself remaining here.' (*Extract, made in* 1788. ½ *p.*)

THOMAS BARKER AND JOHN PURIFIE AT GOMBROON TO THE FACTORS AT ISPAHĀN, DECEMBER 30, 1625 (*Factory Records, Persia,* vol. i. p. 180).

The *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, *Falcon*, *Spy*, and six Dutch ships arrived on the 18th, 'whose cominge hither did not a little raligrate[1] us.' No news yet of the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*, except that they also had a hot fight with the Portuguese. Blyth is blamed for not keeping his fleet more together. Most of the supplies for Persia were in those two ships, together with the Company's advices and instructions. Weddell's fleet had orders not to remain more than forty-eight hours at Gombroon, but as it was agreed here that it would be dangerous for them to separate from the Dutch, and the latter had promised to sail within twelve days, it was resolved to wait for that period. Forward letters to be sent overland to the Company. Goods landed from the ships. The Dutch have brought great store from Holland and Batavia; 'soe that they will have a caffila off at least 1,000 cammels, noe small discouradgment unto us, whoe live heere spendinge our tymes to small profitt to our masters and wish wee were freed from hence unlesse wee stayed heere to better purpose.' Some guns, &c., have been recovered from the wreck of the *Lion*. Weddell's ships hope to sail within two days or less. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] Possibly this is meant for 'religate', to bind together or unite, a metaphor derived from binding-up a vein.

John [Benthall] at Gombroon to John Bangham at Lahore, December 31, 1625 (*O.C.* 1216).

After the departure of the ships and the dispatch of their small capital to Ispahān, he was obliged to remain here the whole year for the sale of the reprisal goods. Endured great misery, owing to constant sickness. The *James* and her fleet, in company with the Dutch, arrived December 17. He then received Bangham's letter dated in September, and was glad to hear of his preferment. Complains of not having received from him and Hopkinson the proceeds of his private goods. No advice received overland this year from the Company: so they are ignorant whether the factory is to be maintained or dissolved. (*Damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Khwāja Murād Beg, Governor of Dābhol, to the [President and Council at Surat?], January 1, 1626 (*O.C.* 1215).

Thanks them for their letter; also the Governor of Surat, to whom he will send an answer shortly. In reply to their request for a pass to establish a factory at his port, he is quite willing to further such a scheme. This letter will serve instead of a pass. Should any provisions, wood, or water be desired, he will furnish them gladly. Desires that they will in return secure from capture ships frequenting his port, and will aid them if met with at sea. (*Translation.* 1 *p.*)

Robert Fox's Account of the Voyage of the *James* from Gombroon to Surat (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1626, *January* 1. The *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, *Falcon*, *Spy*, and six Dutch ships sailed from Gombroon. *January* 24. Saw the coast to the west of Diu. *January* 29. Reached Swally, where they found four Dutch ships from Batavia. (3 *pp.*)

Richard Monk's Account of the Same Voyage (*Ibid.*, vol. xl).

1626, *January* 1. The fleet sailed. *January* 24. Saw the Indian coast near Diu. *January* 29. Anchored off Swally, where they found four Dutch ships. *January* 30. The fleet went into the Hole, except the *Anne*, which followed next day. (1 *p.*)

Francis Pinder's Account of the Same Voyage (*Ibid.*, vol. xlii).

1626, *January* 1. The two fleets sailed. *January* 5. They were opposite Jask. *January* 25. In sight of land. *January* 29. Anchored 'without the swatch of Swally'. Found there three Dutch ships[1] and a pinnace with a prize. 'These ships towld us thay had past the straights to the southerd of Magelayn and in the South Sea thay had burned near 100 vessels and maney townes. Also that the Portingall had 9 sayle of gallions and an armye of frigots at a port some 30 or 40 legues to the southerd of us, which with both our forces we might essily vanquesh; so their was pretence of exsecution of it, but as smoke it vanisht, thoughe of Englishe and Dutch we wear 14 ships and pineses.' (1 *p.*)

Consultation held at Masulipatam by Thomas Mills, Edward Trafford, and Thomas Johnson, January 26, 1626 (*Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 63).[2]

A letter having lately been received from the President and Council at Batavia, ordering search to be made for some convenient place on the Coast for procuring 'paintings and woven cloths', it is decided to make trial of Armagon, a place about 12 leagues from Pulicat, 'whereof myself, Thomas Mille, have had some experience the time of my residence in Pallicatt, and since my coming hither to Musulapatam have received letters, both from the Naico or lord of that country and merchants there inhabiting, for that negotiation, earnestly soliciting our plantation, fairly promising such accommodation and entertainment to our contentment.' No English vessel is available, but as they have with them thirteen or fourteen of the crew of the *Rose*, a country boat has been hired and it is decided that Mills and Johnson, accompanied by John Beverley, shall proceed to Armagon to establish a factory, with 8,500 rials of eight for capital. Johnson and Beverley are to be left at the new settlement, with

[1] These were the *Oranje*, *Hollandia*, and *Mauritius*, under Herman van Speult (see p. 97). They belonged to a fleet of 12 sail, which, under Jacques l'Hermite and Gheen Huigen Schapenham, had come from Holland by way of Magellan's Straits (*Dagh Register*, pp. 153, 186).

[2] A transcript made in 1788, with the spelling modernized. The original is no longer extant.

a man or two to assist. Three murtherers and a number of muskets provided for the boat. Trafford is to remain in charge at Masulipatam and to look after matters at Petapoli. (6 *pp.*)

President Hawley and Council at Batavia to the Company, February 6, 1626 (*O.C.* 1217).

While at Lagundy they resolved to refit the *Bull* for a voyage to Masulipatam, but afterwards, finding her so much decayed, determined to dispatch the *Reformation* instead. In this they were prevented by the death of so many men. On March 15 they received by the Dutch letters from Masulipatam, Achin, and Surat; 'by those from Achin and Musulpatam (the copies now sent) you shall perceive the janglings and distractions there, and by those from Surratt their progresse in busines and proceedings.' They abandoned their settlement at Lagundy on May 29, and the next day sighted the pinnace *Spy* from Surat. Landed at Batavia on June 1. The *Simon and Jude* came in on the 4th, and the *Royal James* arrived six days later under Captain Weddell. She brought George Muschamp, whom the Company had nominated for employment at Masulipatam, but, there being much need of experienced merchants at Batavia, he was appointed a Member of Council here instead. They were unable to lend Weddell any assistance in shipping, but gave him two long field-pieces and some powder. He sailed on August 6 with the *James* and *Spy* and three Dutch ships [*see* p. 91] to encounter the Portuguese at Ormus. He carried a cargo of upwards of 100,000 rials in money and cloves. Arrival of the *London* from England on August 23. On the 25th they dispatched the *Rose* to Masulipatam, with a crew of 21 Englishmen and 12 blacks, and a cargo of money, cloves, sandalwood, alum, and coral. Next day the Dutch signified their intention to send 'three of the South Sea shipps now arrived' [*see* p. 117] to strengthen the fleet intended for Ormus, and demanded whether the English would 'prepare the like forces'. In reply they pleaded inability for want of men, but expressed a hope that the English at Surat would be able to 'parralell' the Dutch fleet. Hearing by accident that Herman van Speult was to be the general of the ships for Surat, they remonstrated with the Council, on the ground of the accusations against him in the Amboyna

business; but their protest was disregarded and he was sent off in grand style on September 4 [*see* p. 97]. Letters were received on August 29 through the Dutch from Masulipatam, 'importing manie manie differences in that factory among themselves;' replied by the same conveyance on September 14. The *Eagle* arrived from Surat and Achin on October 31. Have already advised that a Danish ship lately settled a poor factory at Macassar. In returning to Tranquebar, she drove ashore (last September) in the Bay of Bengal, where her goods were all lost and only seven men saved. These made their way to Masulipatam, where a small Danish ship from Tranquebar had previously arrived to settle a factory. 'They have intercepted our intended factory at Podisera [Pondicherri] for paintings, which will somewhat distract us for those sorts of cloth; but wee have written to Masulpatam for their advice how best wee maie be supplied, and when from you wee maie be releeved with men it shall be one of our first works (God willing) to plant ourselves for the furnishing of such commodities in some one place or other, which of necessity must be effected, for the paintings of those parts and Tanjour are of more use then the cloth of Musulpatam. As for Musulpatam itself, our trade lieth there also on bleeding, cheefly by wicked devices of Governours, tolerated by their weake spirited King, and partly animated by the disagreements between us and the Dutch, as by our letter from thence dated in November (arrived here in a Dutch shipp the 20th December last) amongst the copies will appeare; concerning which busines of Musulpatam it is also our meaning at our next meeting with the Dutch to moove them that some good order between us may be taken for the remooving of these inconveniences by those Governours of Musulpatam.' (*Extracts only.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. WYLDE, HOARE, AND PAGE, FEBRUARY 20, 1626 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 117).

John Leachland having for some years past privately kept a woman of this country and refusing to put her away, in spite of all persuasions, it is debated whether to dismiss him from the Company's service; but as this would only lead to his marrying her and forsaking his country and friends, it is resolved not to adopt

this extreme course, in the hope that time will reclaim him, 'being otherwise a man of fayre demeanor, sufficient abillities, and cleare of accounts with the Honorable Company in India.'[1] (½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT MASULIPATAM BY EDWARD TRAFFORD, THOMAS DALE, JOHN LAWRENCE, AND PHILIP BEARDEN, FEBRUARY 23, 1626 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 153).

The intended journey of Mr. Trafford to Petapoli has been delayed 'by reason of the Kings death[2] and other casualties'. It is now decided that he shall depart forthwith in a native boat, accompanied by John Lawrence and Edward Powell, and shall take with him the goods allotted to that factory by Mr. Mills, viz. some sandal-wood and cloves, besides 2,500 rials of eight and four bags of 'plate tegalls'.[3] (*Extract made in* 1788. 2 *pp.*)

NARRATIVE BY THOMAS MILLS AND THOMAS JOHNSON OF THEIR SETTLEMENT OF A FACTORY AT ARMAGON, MARCH 1, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 73).[4]

Started from Masulipatam on February 1 and reached Armagon eleven days later. 'We found a most friendly welcome by all the inhabitants, who seemed overjoyed at our coming, especially those merchants of that place, who by their sundry letters unto us soliciting our settling a residence with them, and for our better encouragement procured a coule and letter of favour from the Naico or lord of those parts, which was sent us; who likewise importuned our plantation within his authority and we should find such entertainment as we desired.' The Governor sent notice of their arrival to the Nāyak, who was then, with at least 24,000 soldiers, besieging a fort[5] about twenty miles from 'his [? this]

[1] After Leachland's death an attempt was made to claim and send home to England a girl who was the offspring of this union, but the result is not known (*O.C.* 1543 A, and *Court Minutes*, Nov. 25, 1635).

[2] It is not clear to what this refers. The reigning king of Golconda seems to have come to the throne several years earlier.

[3] Silver in the form of *tikāls* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.).

[4] A transcript made in 1788.

[5] On p. 128 this fort is called 'Poora', which simply means town or city. Its surrender is recorded on p. 133, and as a Dutch letter of June 1627 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 258) speaks of the Nāyak's capture of 'Secrecour' during the

place'; and the Nāyak at once dispatched a captain and 200 soldiers to conduct the English to his camp. The Dutch, hearing of their arrival, in all haste sent their 'scrivan' [writer: Port. *escrivão*], a Brahman, 'with his pallankine, kimdeleroes[1], and attendants compleat,' to carry a present to the Nāyak and prevent the success of the English. The Brahman arrived a day before the latter, and, in addition to bribing thirty or forty of the principal natives, offered 4,000 pagodas to the Nāyak himself if he would refuse the English permission to settle in his territories; but he, 'although young, of the age of 19 years, yet, as it seems, though a heathen, will maintain the reputation of his father, who [was ?] by general report reputed very constant of his word and promise.' 'We were received with all friendly respect and lodged in a tent near him. And so the day following we had audience, to deliver him the intent of our coming and our present, which he entertained with all friendly acceptance, seeming to yield consent to our demands; and so, after some few compliments of courtesy, were dismissed of further parley, in regard of his other important affairs then in handling. Now the Dutch ambassador, or rather prating Bramine, employed his wits yet how he might circumvent us; and ceased not day or night to instigate those great ones against us, supplying them with feeling courtesies, in part of larger sums promised if his request took effect; which they, lawyerlike, for the covet of gain accordingly pleaded for in his behalf, as we had daily notice of what passed in their general assemblies, besides this man having private conference with the great man, by means of his scrivans of his own cast, importunately again and again urging the power of the Dutch, and how beneficial their abiding would be unto him, by reason of their great investments they meant to make yearly, of no less moment than fifty or sixty thousand pagodas, by which their great employments he might expect the benefit of four or five thousand pagodas per annum to come freely into his purse; besides, they would build a fort for the better guard and security of his port. And for us, the English, he reported to know our estate as well as ourselves; which was so

previous year, it may be surmised that that was the place intended. Mr. Sewell identifies it with Srīharikōta, about 24 miles south of Armagon.

[1] No doubt the copyist's misreading of 'rundeleroes' (umbrellas: see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'roundel').

poor and bare that we were not able to perform what we pretended, and that we had not the means to employ above four or five thousand rials a year ; and further that we meant not to keep here any settled residence, but would leave a sailor or two to manage that small business : and withal reported that we would have remained longer in Palicat but for want of means to pay our charges. And with such and worse terms did this Dutch ambassador disable and abuse us and our nation, and would have proceeded further with his forged matter but that the great man interrupted him, demanding the reason wherefore the Dutch, in all this time of their long residence so near his country, would not know him or make the least motion for what they now so importunately desired upon the coming of the English, and not before; to which the Bramine made reply that it was long since minded, but ignorantly omitted and deferred through their many employments; which frivolous answer was easily apprehended and their intent censured by the great man accordingly; and, notwithstanding all his forged projects and large proffers, for that time was dismissed and referred to their further consideration ; all which was presently noted unto us'. On the English soliciting a decision, one way or the other, 'the great man, assembling those of his council about him, sent for us ; where we being come, they began to reiterate the large proffers ; to which we made this answer, in fair and beseeming terms, without the least reproaching language, that we had not to do with them, nor to pattern of their actions or proceedings; though howsoever their rude tongues were guided with false reports of us, yet our discretion should moderate all their spleen with no other than friendly report of them ; and for their large proffered offers, they concerned us not at all ; but if he pleased to entertain our residence in his country, according to our motion made and his own promise performed in a letter sent us to Musulapatam, for which purpose we are now come, and because we would not further omit his so free a proffer we thus rawly undertook this journey in a boat; and if his pleasure now so minded to give us entertainment, we were readily prepared to embrace with all respect ; if not, attended his answer to the contrary, that we might depart as freely as we came; which speech of ours was so well favoured by the great man that he presently granted our request, notwithstanding the main opposition of a many of those great ones

about him, which pleaded for the Dutch. And in the midst of our parley it was rumoured amongst them that the Braminy had further promised (which is very certain) two pieces of ordnance, with five candy of powder and as much lead; which bred a great dispute amongst them. Whereupon, being pressed unto it, we consented to give him a piece of ordnance, and so our request was in a great part confirmed under hand, though not so ample and freely as [we?] might expect, had not the Dutch so insolently opposed us; yet not to say but that we have procured sufficient for our quiet and free trading, without any allowance for the entrance of the Dutch to hinder us. And seeing their pretences could not prevail, they pretend revenge by seizing or forcing those junckes yearly bound to that port, with provisions of rice and such like, to go for Pallicat; which may prove a great hinderance to our trade, if not remedied'. Complain of the unreasonableness of the Dutch in thus seeking to exclude the English, though there is ample room for both in the country. A sloop has twice been sent from Pulicat to this place 'to pry into our actions'. (16 *pp.*)

Commission from President Kerridge and Messrs. Wylde, Hoare, and Martin to Captains Weddell and Clevenger, March 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1218).

Weddell is to command the *Royal James* and *Jonas* during their voyage to England, and also the *Anne*, *Falcon*, and *Spy* while they remain in company; but Robert Young and William Hoare, the cape merchants of the *James* and *Jonas*, are exempted from his control, 'in respect of their longe service and repute in the Companies affaires.' As the Portuguese fleet is understood to be at 'Bombayee', great vigilance is enjoined against a possible attack. The *Anne* and *Falcon* are to be dispeeded to Batavia and Masulipatam respectively at the first opportunity. The *Spy* is to go to St. Augustine's Bay and the Comoro Islands, to meet the fleet expected from England. After separation from these ships care must be taken to avoid surprise by pirates. The ships should keep together and appoint a rendezvous in case of separation. In the event of Weddell's death, Clevenger is to take command, and Goodall to be master of the *Jonas*. Should Clevenger die, his successor is to be appointed by the Council, which is to consist

of Weddell, Clevenger, Young, Hoare, Goodall, Swanley, Eaton, and Wheatley; Man, Clement, Wills, Hawley, and Phelps to be also members, so long as they are in company. Weddell is to have a casting vote, as usual. (*Signed copy. 3 pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND COUNCIL TO JOHN PHELPS, MASTER OF THE *SPY*, MARCH 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1219).

To sail with Weddell's fleet until licensed to depart, and then to make his way to St. Augustine's Bay in Madagascar. Not finding the expected ships there, he is to leave letters, and proceed to the Comoro Islands to await them. On meeting them he is to put himself under the orders of the commander, and return with him to Surat. Two Dutchmen are sent on his ship with letters for their expected fleet. (*Signed copy. 1 p.*)

JOINT NOTIFICATION[1] TO DUTCH AND ENGLISH SHIPS MET BY THE *SPY* [MARCH, 1626] (*O.C.* 1220).

It has been agreed that all English and Dutch ships bound for India shall join together, and proceed to a spot about thirty-five leagues from the coast in latitude 18° North, and there ride from the 1st to the 20th October to await the ships expected from Batavia. (*Copy. 1 p.*)

COMMISSION FROM PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND COUNCIL TO JOSEPH WILLS, MASTER OF THE *FALCON*, MARCH 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1221).

His ship is to proceed to Masulipatam, to embark the goods there provided, 'which by the *Roses* disaster remaine untransported.' To lose no time by touching anywhere on the way; but he may chase and capture any vessels belonging to Portuguese ports, or to Chaul or Dābhol (if unprovided with English passes). Any goods thus taken may be left at Masulipatam, if required by the factors there, but the prisoners are to be carried to Batavia. On arriving at Masulipatam he is to place himself at the disposal of the Agent; and similarly on reaching Batavia. Mr. Hawley, the merchant of

[1] Signed by Kerridge, Wylde, and Martin for the English, and by Van Speult, Van den Broeck, and Kistgens for the Dutch.

the ship, is exempted from the master's control. The council is to consist of Wills, Hawley, the chief mate, and the purser. (*Signed copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

Commission from President Kerridge and Council to Eustace Man, Master of the *Anne*, March 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1222).

In similar terms to the foregoing. On arriving at his port [Batavia] the ship is to be refitted, and they advise him to cut two bow ports on the lower orlop to withstand assaults by frigates. The want of such ports was a main cause of the *Lion's* disaster. In case of Man's death, Darby is to succeed. The council is to consist of Man, Clement, Darby, and Thomas Joyce. (*Signed copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

Robert Fox's Account of the Homeward Voyage of the *James* (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxix).

1626, *February* 8. Commenced to lade goods. *March* 6. Went out into the Road. *March* 31. The whole fleet (five English and ten Dutch) sailed together. *April* 8. The pinnace *Spy* parted company for the Comoro Islands, to meet the fleet from England. *April* 11. Anchored in the Road of 'Ewall', near 'Mount Dellee' [Mt. Delly, on the Malabar Coast]. *April* 13. Sailed again. *April* 16. The *Falcon* and *Anne* parted company, bound for Masulipatam and Batavia respectively. *April* 17. The three Dutch ships (*Heusden*, *Nieuw Bantam*, and a Portuguese prize) left for Batavia. *April* 21. Crossed the Line. *July* 7. Reached Table Bay, and found there a Dutch ship which had left Masulipatam four months ago[1]. *July* 9. The *Exchange* and *Christopher* came in, bound for Batavia and Surat respectively. *July* 17. Sailed with the *Jonas* and the Dutch ship. *August* 6. Passed St. Helena. *October* 6. Spoke a Dutch man-of-war. (*The journal ends at sea on October* 17.[2] 17 *pp*.)

[1] The *David* (*Dagh Register*, 1624–29, p. 290).

[2] The letters brought by the *James* and *Jonas* were delivered to the Company on October 24.

Richard Monk's Account of the same Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xl).

1626, *February* 8. The *James* commenced to lade. *March* 6. Completed her lading and quitted the Hole. *March* 26. The fleet, except the *Falcon*, went down to the Bar of Surat. *March* 29. The merchants were put ashore. *March* 31. The whole fleet sailed. *April* 8. The pinnace departed for the Comoros. *April* 11. Anchored at 'Ewall'. *April* 13. Having taken in water and live stock, they sailed again. *April* 16. The *Falcon* and *Anne* quitted the fleet. *April* 17. Three Dutch ships parted company. *April* 21. Crossed the Line. *July* 7. Anchored in Table Bay. *July* 9. The *Exchange* and the *Christopher* arrived. *July* 17. Sailed. *August* 6. Saw St. Helena, but failed to get into the Road. *October* 6. Spoke a Dutch man-of-war. (*The journal ends on October* 16. 9½ *pp.*)

Francis Pinder's Account of the same Voyage (*Ibid.*, vol. xlii).

1626, *March* 6. The *James* went over the bar. 'The Portingall lying with forces for to oppose us, it was thought fitt to stay for the Dutch, who wer lading som ships for Holland, som for the Read Sea, &c., but I rather thinck thaill go for Percie.' *March* 31. The whole fleet sailed. *April* 4. Off Chaul they took some fishermen, who reported that the five Portuguese galleons were gone to the southwards; 'so som seven sayle of the Dutch ships, which wear under the command of on Spelt, cheife in the Amboyna acxtion, and bound (as sayd) for the Read Sea, left us.' *April* 11. Anchored at 'Ewe', some six leagues northward of Cannanore. Here they bought plenty of provisions. *April* 13. Sailed. *April* [ ]. The *Anne*, *Falcon*, and Dutch left them. *June* 27. A violent storm separated the *James* and the *Jonas*, but they met again the next day. *July* 4. Saw Cape Falso. *July* 7. Reached Table Bay, and spoke a Dutch ship from the Coromandel Coast, laden mostly with saltpetre. *July* 8. Anchored nearer the shore. *July* 9. The *Exchange* and *Christopher* came in. *July* 17. Sailed. *August* 6. Passed St. Helena. *September* 7. Saw the island of Flores [in the Azores]. [*October*] 19. 'Had sight of Albyon or Britanny.' [*Last entry. At end, rough drafts for a letter to the Company, complaining of his treatment. In all* 13 *pp.*]

ROBERT YOUNG AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, MARCH 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1223).

Begs him to take charge of his goods left there by Willoughby and dispose of them at the prices formerly fixed. Will deliver the letters and tokens given him by Bangham at Ahmadābād. The letter for Bangham's brother, who is at Batavia, he has delivered to Clement. Young, Willoughby, Hoare, and Crispin [Blackden] hope to sail in four days for home. Trusts that Goodwin will invest the money he owes him in some good commodity and send it him next year. Desires him to inquire into the business of Willoughby regarding 'the dufter [*daftar*, a register or an account] of Sadacann' [Sadr Khān] and bring the particulars home for the information of the Company. *P.S.*—Commendations to 'the patherrie' [? padre] and to Signor Barnardine,[1] &c. (1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, APRIL 4, 1626 (*O.C.* 1225).[2]

Has received his letters of January 15, and has sent the 'generall' one to England, that the Company may perceive what has been effected at court and what Sir Francis Crane may expect for his rich tapestry. Regrets that Abbot's emeralds have not been sold, but trusts to hear better tidings shortly. He is now sorry that he sent up his own tapestry, for he could have disposed of it to better advantage and more speedily at Burhānpur. If it has not been sold at the Naurōz [New Year] festival, he will be forced to ask for its return. Believes Muqarrab Khān would not have been his worst chapman both for that and Kerridge's other 'toyes'; however, he is well content to leave the matter in Bangham's hands. Their official letter of this date will instruct him to hasten the dispatch of all business at court and then depart for Agra, taking 'Semyana' [Samāna] in his way 'to accomplish that investment, if not already effected by Mr. Offleye'. They cannot write more definitely, because the latter has not replied to their order for his repair to that place. The sailing of the ships was deferred until March 29, as seven Portuguese galleons were on the coast and it was thought advisable therefore to

[1] Villentin Bernadine, an Italian trader: see the volume for 1618–21, p. 346.

[2] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

wait for the company of the Dutch. (*Seal. Endorsed by Bangham as received in Kābul on May* 29, 1626. 1 *p.*)

THOMAS JOHNSON AND JOHN BEVERLEY AT ARMAGON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA, APRIL 19, 1626 (*Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 89)[1].

On January 28 'Mr. Mille, myself, and Mr. Byam' [? Beverley] with twelve other Englishmen sailed for Armagon in a small boat, and arrived there on February 6. They were courteously received, and 'the great Naico', on hearing of their arrival, sent horses and 300 [*sic*] soldiers to conduct them to his presence. Leaving Armagon on February 12, they arrived the same night at 'Poora [*see* p. 120], where the great man lay in siege against a muddy fort, with 24,000 soldiers'. Two days later he sent to speak with them, and they explained their mission and delivered their present. Four days later, they had a second audience and learnt that 'the Dutch had sent a cunning, nimble Braminy, with a large present, to oppose us'. 'To be short, the Dutch were dismissed: the place, Armagon, given unto us: covenants of his and our agreements drawn; and afterwards [he ?] bestowed his favour upon us, and withal told us he had given order for a spacious compass of ground, whereon we might build castle, house, or what we thought fitting; which is seated so near the seaside that we can discern a ship three leagues off, and (as reported) three or four fathom water close aboard the shore.' Provisions are plentiful and cheap. A piece of ordnance promised to the Nāyak, at his urgent solicitation. Goods vendible here: lead, alum (as much as may be provided), spices (much desired), damasks, velvets, taffeta, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, and brimstone. 'Our rials of eight are in base esteem here and redound to loss, as $2\frac{6}{11}$ fanams lost upon every rial, according to our account-keeping; the rial of eight worth no more than 12 fanams, which should yield $14\frac{6}{11}$; wherefore, to prevent such inconveniences, we advise Your Worships that, haply you meeting with gold from any subordinate factories, or from any other parts, to send us a good quantity; which will be the best means to help the loss of our rials; and the great Naico hath promised to stamp us both pagodas and fanams also in

[1] A transcript made in 1788, and marked 'extracts'. It will be noticed that the dates given in this letter differ both from those on p. 120 and those on p. 132.

our own house, paying $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Dutch have good store of gold, which they stamp themselves into pagodas and fanams; whereby they have not this whole year disbursed one rial to loss, but pagodas and fanams, to their masters' great profit. We have here enclosed sent two pagodas, the one a new pagoda, worth 22 fanams, the other an old pagoda, worth 20 fanams, whereby Your Worships may discern the fineness, goodness, [and ?] weight of the gold. Furthermore, we have agreed with the great man about our custom, vizt. we to pay one per cent. for all the goods we bring into the country, as [*sic*] gold, rials, plate [i.e. silver] in bullion excepted; and those merchants we trade withal are to pay three per cent. for all goods we transport out of his lands. Now for Armagon: we doubt not but that it will prove according to our expectation, for it lies between Pallicatt and Point Penna [1], where all the prime paintings in this country be made; so that merchants, painters, and weavers flock daily more and more, that nothing but want of means will hinder our proceedings; which we must refer to Your Wisdoms' considerations. We have already finished our walls, containing 90 yards long, 60 broad, and 4 yards high; and are at present employed about the building of a small house, to secure our masters' estate. Brick [*queried in transcript*] lime we have good store; but timber, planks, and ironwork not to be procured here; wherefore, if intended for any long residence, must be expected from your parts. We have taken in a plot of ground for a garden, of like compass; but intend to bestow little cost 'till further order. At our entrance into building we found a great inconvenience by Mr. Mille's dealing with this Governor, putting money into his hands for the providing of brick, lime, tiles, and payment of coolees' wages; which he, according to the accustomed manner of heathens, hath exacted the one half or above to his own proper use; but we, perceiving the prejudice did arise thereby, have, with some difficulty, withdrawn all business out of his avaritious hands to our own disposings.' (11 *pp.*)

RICHARD WYLDE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, APRIL 26, 1626 (*O.C.* 1226).

Writes on behalf of their good friends Benthall and Hopkinson. The former desires the return of the 100 tūmāns which he delivered

[1] The mouth of the Penner River is probably intended.

to Bangham at Gombroon in money and goods; if Bangham will remit the proceeds to Surat, Wylde will see them invested and returned to Benthall by the next ship. Hopkinson is likewise faulty in the same kind. He, before departing for Mokha, left with Wylde a note to satisfy Mr. Benthall; and in this he specifies as in the hands of Bangham and Goodwin some China damask and cloth of gold, a bay horse (with bridle and saddle) given him by Saif Khān, and a quantity of enamel. According to Clitherow, Goodwin sold the damasks and cloth of gold last year, but he has not had the honesty to acquaint Hopkinson, or pay over the money. Begs Bangham to show this to Goodwin, and to demand an explanation; also to require him to give an account of the Company's business, as he has ignored all Wylde's letters on the subject. Would be glad to serve Bangham in any way. (*Seal with arms. Endorsed as received June* 25, 1626. 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, APRIL 26, 1626 (*O.C.* 1227).

Sends a copy of his last, and again urges the sale of his goods, 'least Manoell de Payva his brinquos [Port. *brinco*, a toy] cause yours to be disesteemed and this your cautious wayting produce my further prejudice. Mahomett Chan[1] will proove a more noble chapman then Assuph Chan, and requesitt it were you wan his favour,' but this he trusts Bangham has already effected. *P.S.* (29th)—Has kept back this letter three days in hope of hearing from Bangham; now sends it off by way of Burhānpur and Agra. 'Naderzeman' [*see* p. 93] was importunate with Kerridge to write to Bangham to sell him some 'tofas', but he should not be trusted, as he is a base-conditioned fellow, who will hardly pay for anything he buys. Still, Bangham should speak him fair, and acknowledge, if necessary, that Kerridge has written concerning him. (*Seal. Received June* 25. 1 *p.*)

THOMAS JOHNSON AT ARMAGON TO THOMAS MILLS AT MASULIPATAM, MAY 13, 1626 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 101).[2]

'Armagon rests very hopeful; but the Dutch do what they may

[1] Probably Mahābat Khān is intended.

[2] Extracts made in 1788.

to hinder our proceedings in all bordering places near us,[1] and withal have given strict command to all the committees [*see* p. 8] they have to deal withal that, if that they can learn they sell to us, the English, one piece of cloth, they will cut off their heads if ever they come to Pallicatt.' Goods vendible here: spices and sandal-wood, of each a small quantity; gold, lead, and alum, as much as may be procured. 'Surway the committee' [Sarvayya the Kōmati] two days ago fled into the government of another Nāyak with all his family, but has written that he will pay what he owes. 'This governor still persists in his practices of villany, and would fain take Surwall's [*sic*] debt upon him; but I certified I could not deal in any kind concerning merchandise, but for justice only, for I was strictly commanded to the contrary.' 'Our house is in a good readiness, and I intend (God willing) to go and live there within this six days.' (3 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, MAY 20, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 105).[2]

'By reason of the Dutch's inveterate hate and malice all passages round about us are waylaid, either with a guard of Dutchmen or [by the?] Governor, who they and Malaya together put in; which we make no doubt costs them caro [Port. *caro*, dear]; so that one piece of cloth cannot be procured from any place but by stealth, and great exactions of jounckadge[3] besides; and if the people be taken [they?] come in great trouble. We trust it is only their impatience for a small season; yet, howsoever, I doubt not but remedy will be had in time to frustrate the begun project. They have proferred large gifts to this Naico, and bribes of moment to the great ones about, to get foothold in any place of his territories, that they might become our near-bordering neighbours; but he in no case will grant, but remain constant; wherefore, I beseech you, let him be had in remembrance.' (2¼ *pp.*)

[1] This is borne out by the Dutch records (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. nos. 239, 240).

[2] An extract made in 1788.

[3] The Tamil *chungam*, a toll or duty, seems to be the root word here; see the previous volume, p. 104, where it is spelled *junkan*.

THOMAS JOHNSON AT ARMAGON TO THOMAS MILLS AT MASULIPATAM, MAY 27, 1626 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 109).[1]

'The Naico where Surwaye the committee resides is turned rebel, and his approach is daily expected here by these townsmen, to the utter overthrow of this place; for, as they report, he hath two or three times already burnt down this dispersed town down to the ground and carried away the booty, upon less occasion of insurrection; whereupon the inhabitants are very fearful, and ready at instant [*sic*], except Bassanna [? Basavanna], who stands unto us and comforts us. Wherefore, we pray, at first furnish us with at least twelve good muskets and four murtherers, which we have fitted to be placed in the windows of our new fair mansion brick house, whereof we have taken possession six days ago, and the rather for security of our persons as well as our masters' estate. Six pieces of great ordnance are seriously desired and required by these people, for defence of the town upon all assaults; who then will stand unto us without fail. To omit needless repetition: let this Naico be remembered.' (2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS MILLS AT MASULIPATAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA, JUNE 3, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 113).[2]

Steps taken to carry out the President's orders regarding a settlement to the southwards. Hired a native boat of seven or eight tons, and embarked with Johnson, Byam [? Beverley], and thirteen other Englishmen, besides servants and 'blacks for rowers'. They started on January 29 [3], concealing their intention from the Dutch, and made their way to Armagon, about sixty leagues to the southwards, where they arrived on February 10, the delay being due to contrary winds and currents. They were well received, and a messenger was dispatched to apprise the Nāyak, who was besieging a fort about twenty-four [*sic*] miles from Armagon.

[1] An extract made in 1788.

[2] Extracts only, made in 1788.

[3] It has already been pointed out that these dates differ from those given in the two other accounts.

Escorted by 200 soldiers, they journeyed to his camp, carrying a small present consisting of cloves and sandal-wood, 'with some other toys, which we bought there.' Being only a day's journey from Pulicat, the Dutch heard of their intention, and dispatched 'a nimble-pated Bramine', their 'scrivan', with a large present. On the approach of the English the Nāyak sent 'some of his elephants of state, with such wild musick as these countries afford, with many of his captains well-mounted, to receive us'. They had audience the next day, and delivered their present to the Nāyak, who promised to comply with their wishes. His army consisted of 25,000 men, besides workmen engaged in the trenches. The fort was held by 3,000 men, and was reported to be provisioned for three years; but the Nāyak had vowed never to 'leave the field 'till he brought it under his subjection; which was formerly belonging to his father, and delivered into the charge of one of his captains, who, a little before his death, revolted and gave it over to another great man, who ever since hath held the same; and now, since my return, by letters I understand the besieged have surrendered it up unto him, upon composition fairly to depart without farther molest'. These martial affairs delayed consideration of the business of the English, but at last, upon their suit for a decision, the Nāyak assembled his council and gave them audience. Many of the chiefs, gained over by the Dutch emissary, spoke strongly against the desired concession; but the Nāyak, 'who by all appearance stands more upon his promise than any covet of gain (which is a rare quality to be found in a heathen),' decided in favour of the English, and granted most of their demands. The grant was 'written upon an ola [Tamil *ōlai*, a palm leaf], according to the custom of those parts', and gave 'free liberty to buy, sell, transport, or carry any goods throughout his authority without payment of a penny or any molest whatever, the Dutch being absolutely prohibited any trade in his country. And from [? for] what goods we shall embark from out any of his ports, we are free from payment of a penny custom; only, for goods inwards, one per cent. when sale is made, but finding no sale I may embark the same without payment of a penny. And for our accommodations, we are to make choice where we thought fittest to begin our habitation, in any place or part of the town

of Armagon, and withal to build a fort or fortress when and where we thought most convenient for our purpose. But withal he engaged me to return unto [him?] within three or four months, and made earnest suit for a piece of ordnance, with all whatsoever belonging; which we could not chuse but promise performance, in regard the Dutch proffered to furnish him with two. Now it rests at your disposing what bigness you will appoint for him, for their desire is to have one that will carry our big shot, and therefore may not be less than a demi-culverin; which present you may please to augment with some toys of worth, as two or three pieces of red velvet, a piece or two of damask of like colour, some four or five pieces of taffeta, some pretty scrutoire [cabinet, or writing-desk: Fr. *escritoire*] of Japon, with some English toys (if any), or a remnant or half piece of good stammel or bastard scarlet of our country. The Dutch spare for no costs in those kinds, though spent to no other ends than only to hinder us; and we may not be too sparing now, upon our first entrance, 'till we have gotten good footing of a two or three years' standing, and then we shall have cause to be more sparing, and notwithstanding give good content. But now I will return to this great man, who having confirmed our request, he invested [us?] with his courtesy of some gilded and painted clouts, with his gift of a horse and a pallankeene such as that time and place would afford. So we took leave of his person; but his great men being by him commanded to conduct us some few miles on our way with a troop of elephants, pipes, and drums. Such honour did he bestow upon us, beyond all expectation. And so parting, we recommended our service to the great man and we proceeded on our journey for Armagon, where the same day we arrived; and the day following, accompanied with the Governor of the town, viewed all the situation thereof, and so made our choice where we pleased for the building of our habitation; which, though inhabited by many, we caused their houses to be pulled down; and there we measured out so much ground as we thought fitting for our present occasions, being of no less substance of [*sic*] 150 yards long and about 100 yards broad. Whereupon we set awork twenty persons for the raising of a made [*sic*] wall, thickness seven foot; which ended, and bricks and lime in readiness, I ordered Mr. Johnson to begin a small habitation 'till your

further order, which is by this time finished, notwithstanding the many threatenings of the Dutch.' Money delivered to merchants to provide calicoes within five and a half months. Johnson placed in charge of the new factory, with two Englishmen to assist him. Mills left Armagon on March 1, and reached Petapoli on the 4th, where he found Trafford. He started again the next day, and, travelling overland, arrived in Masulipatam on the 6th. Thinks representations should be made at Batavia regarding the action of the Pulicat authorities in opposing the English. It would be advisable for their better security to erect a small fort at Armagon, which could be done for 3,000 rials of eight. It should be provided with a garrison of thirty Englishmen and some 'blacks mesticoes [half-castes], which will serve for small means and, keeping a small vessel, may serve, upon all occasions, to go up and down the coast and get their expenses. Besides, were we once fortified, we should draw infinite of all sorts of people, and more especial such as are fitting our negotiations, which as yet keep aloof off for fear; and in time we should get the whole government of the place into our own hands. And doubt but, if we continue thus, we shall be subject to all casualties; and the Dutch will never leave us in quiet 'till they have by one means or other rooted us out. Therefore to lay a sure foundation we may stand in despite of them, and in few years ruin their Pallicatt and never use a word [*sic*]. They practise daily some new invention or other against us; and seeing that they cannot as yet otherwise revenge themselves, have lately beset the highways and passages into this man's country, and who they meet withal that names but Armagon, that he is going thither, especially painters and weavers, those they torture and abuse at their pleasure, and force them to return for Pallicatt, though he came from any other place. They have likewise crossed the building of our habitation by preventing their [*sic*] buying of timber; for lime and bricks there is no want.' Urges that capital should be sent to maintain the reputation of the new settlement and disprove the calumnies of the Dutch; and timber might be brought by the same ship. If a fort is to be built, some skilful person should be dispatched to choose the ground. They have authority at Armagon to coin gold, 'as fanams, which are of a very base metal, and pagodas also; for which purpose also he hath

promised a stamp when we shall have occasion; which liberty in time may prove very beneficial to our honourable masters, and is used by the Dutch in Pallicatt.' ($27\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

THOMAS MILLS AT MASULIPATAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA, JUNE 10, 1626 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 141).[1]

The *Falcon* has been unable to sail, owing to contrary winds; and he has this instant received intelligence from Armagon of an impending attack on 'our new plantation' by a rebel chief. Thinks this must be some underhand contrivance of the Dutch. Has now sent thither three sailors, with six muskets, two murtherers, and a barrel of powder, in a Dutch vessel bound for Pulicat. The Hollanders very willingly consented to land them in passing, and, indeed, he finds 'abundant kindness in all exterior matters', though he suspects their real intentions. Urges speedy help for fortifying the place, and encloses a request from the inhabitants for assistance in its defence. (6 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT HAWLEY AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA TO THOMAS HARRIS [AT JAMBI], JUNE 10, 1626 (*O.C.* 1229).

'The 28th ditto February by letters from Mesulapatan wee were advertised of the pinnass *Rose* cast away in the Baye of Bejarone,[2] 31 leagues from Mesulapatan, her goods all saved by the Danish shipps and every thing of worth safely delivered in Mesulapatan. Her leake prooved uncureable; her hull therefore fiered. By mortallity shee lost 12 blacks, 5 English; the rest all weake. The goods of Musul[apatam] by that disaster wee much want, but from Surratt they sent the last of March the pinnass *Faulkon* (aboute 200 tonnes) to convey all provisions collected in that factory with the first opportunity for these partes.' On June 3 the *Royal Anne*

[1] A transcript made in 1788.

[2] This appears to have been the bay on the north side of the Godāvarī delta. Pring anchored there in 1619, and the name was then given as 'Vingeron' or 'Vengaroone' (see the volume for 1618–21, p. 157, and *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 638). The name is not found on modern maps.

A letter from the Dutch chief at Masulipatam (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 239) says that the *Rose* stranded in January near 'Vingerom', about 30 miles north of Masulipatam. The Danish ships alluded to appear to have been the *Christiaenshaven* and the *Waterhont*.

arrived from Surat in ballast, with a few provisions but no goods, owing to the disaster to the fleet from England. Out of four vessels only one (the *Falcon*) reached Surat. The *Lion*, encountered by five galleons, defended herself bravely and made her escape to Gombroon. She had landed there part of her cargo, when she was attacked by Ruy Freire's frigates ; and after a stout defence fired herself. Her crew of twenty-six men leapt into the sea and were taken by the Portuguese, who put all but one to death. The *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*, who forsook the *Lion* when attacked, were pursued by the five galleons and some frigates, and being overtaken made two days' fight, but the event is not known, except that the galleons are returned to 'Bombaja' with the loss of masts and yards. The *Royal James* and *Jonas*, both fully laden, parted with the *Anne* at Cape Comorin about April 12, bound for England. The Dutch ships also left, three for Batavia (but not yet arrived), and seven under 'the butcher Speult' to winter in the Red Sea, 'whereof one well laden for Holland, other three of the Magelayne fleete [*see* p. 117], laden with all manner of luggedg, as enjoyned to retourne for the States service, and the rest of course to stay for the next yeares retourne.' 'With these greate forces of the Hollanders advantage might have been taken to discomfort the ennemy, and some flourishes the said Speult made, as if he would have sought them in their harbours ; but perceiveing the President, Mr. Kerridge, more forward then himself, upon faire and equall tearmes which cutt off his advantagious devices, he slonk his head out of the coller, and so the project dying, the *James*, *Jonas*, *Ann*, and *Faulkon* proceeded on their severall voyages and left the said Speult unto his designes.' These disasters will occasion much distraction in the Company's affairs, especially if the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* be lost, 'inasmuch as our rivalls of Holland are afloate, for their fleete out of Holland arrived in Swally Roade three days before the Portugall gallioons came to have intercepted both them and us, but ours fell right into their mouthes, which might in a reasonable manner have been righted by the Hollanders meerely accidentally, for the said gallioons, retourning after the fight with our shipps with loss of masts, &c., were mett withall by three Holland shipps sent from hence purposely for men of warr, yet passed one by th'other without shott or the least showe of offence. In all which the Lord seemeth

setting att the ruther to guide each action for His owne purposes; and assuredly, howsoever the one or th'other may attribute unto themselves success or improvidence, yet all is His doings and none is made so happy but he hath cause to vale the bonnett, nor anyone so unhappy but with good reason he may give God thanks for so miraculous deliverance; for well might all, both Dutch and English, have been intercepted by the Portugalls, had not a storme first putt them from their ankors att Swalley; two of them perrished, and the rest so dispersed that both the *Ann*, *Jonas*, *Faulkon*, and three Dutch shipps out of Holland, though straghingly, yet arrived in safety without resistance.' The *Lion* saved its best treasures and sold the rest dearly; and, as the fate of the others is yet uncertain, the loss is not so great as it might have been. The Dutch have escaped without loss of goods, yet their reputation is 'crased', first for refusing to go out with the English when the Portuguese challenged both nations at Swally, and secondly for passing by the 'tottered' galleons without attacking them. 'If anything may be alluded to the Portingalls for praise, it is their better resolucion showed now more then in former tymes; but their gaine, for ought that wee can understand, is nothing att all.' It will be a warning to the English to unite their forces before entering Swally, lest they be again waylaid. (*Extracts only.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT COURT, JUNE 10, 1626 (*O.C.* 1230).

Knows not whether to write or not, so much having been said to so little purpose. The general letter will show how sensible they are of his long silence, and Kerridge in particular, and wearied with many unexpected excuses and delays. The Company have often urged that 'returnes is the life of trade', and the merchant who only counts his gains without regarding the time lost will make a poor reckoning in the end. 'The trade of these parts, even from porte to porte, and from hence to England, doth answere 50 per cento in a yeares time.' If Bangham cannot make sale of the goods, he will no doubt return them; 'and I will have patience howsoever.' Requests information as to the price of Mr. Barker's carpets. (*Endorsed as received August* 12. $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

Thomas Barker, John Purifie, Robert Loftus, and George Smith at Ispahān to the Company, June 14, 1626 (*O.C.* 1228).

John Benthall sent from Gombroon on May 21 [1] the news (heard from an English renegade) that the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* after their fight at Damān surprised a Portuguese ship bound from Muskat to Goa with horses and took her into Surat, where they remained till the fleet returned from Persia; also that ten ships had been seen to the eastward of Muskat, which it is hoped are English. (*Extract only.* ¼ *p.*)

Richard Wylde at Surat to John Bangham at Lahore, July 31, 1626 (*O.C.* 1232).

Received on the 5th his letter of May 31 from Kābul. As regards Benthall's goods, he marvels that Bangham should have had so small consideration of a friend's estate as to retain it so long 'without ordering him his retourne'. Notes that he now proposes to request Mr. Offley to invest the money in indigo and turban-cloths. Whether such things are vendible in Persia Wylde does not know, but certainly they cannot now arrive in time to be sent thither this year, though this might easily have been done had the money been remitted to Surat. Blames him for the obscurity of his advices, both as regards the Company's affairs and these private matters, and warns him that his reputation will suffer. Urges the speedy transmission of an exact account for entrance in the Surat books, and also a narrative of his proceedings. Reiterates his demand for particulars of Hopkinson's goods left in Bangham's hands. (*Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

The Rev. Thomas Friday at Batavia to [Peter] Bell [at Jambi], August 25, 1626 (*O.C.* 1233).

The *Anne* arrived very leaky and has been broken up. Four great galleons from Lisbon came to Surat Bar and challenged the English and Dutch, 'shippe to sh[ippe] or all together', but they refused. Meanwhile arrived the fleet from England, and fought

[1] See *Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 191. The intelligence (which was derived from an Englishman who had come in a frigate from Dābhol) was entirely untrue.

with them for three days. The *Lion* was boarded thrice and the master, [Richard] Swanley, slain, but valiantly freed herself. The *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* abandoned her and fled, whilst the ships at Swally 'most basely lay still', in spite of Kerridge's remonstrances. The *Lion* reached Gombroon, where she was assaulted by Ruy Freire's frigates, and after a brave defence was blown up by her crew. The Portuguese saved the men, but presently hanged them, except one [1] whom they sent to Kerridge with letters. In consequence of these events, the Surat factors are all idle, having no funds to make investments. They sent a pinnace to Mohilla to look for the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* and to advise any ships from Europe to await the Dutch fleet from the Red Sea at a given rendezvous. The *James* and *Jonas* have gone for England richly laden. (*Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

Robert Tottle at 'Gundeven' [2] to John Bangham at Lahore, September 26, 1626 (*O.C.* 1235).

Asks for the return of a bill in order that he may write it better, 'for if Mr. Page seese itt soe, hee will judg mee to be dronke att itts writing, which I confese is the troath.' Will duly advise the latter with a view to early payment. Encloses another bill, 'which is handsomer'. (½ *p.*)

John Vian's [3] Account of the Voyage of the *Discovery* to Surat (*Marine Records*, vol. xliii. p. 1).

1626, *April* 7. Sailed from Gravesend, in company with the *William* and the *Blessing*. *April* 16. Quitted the Downs, the *Morris* being now with them. *April* 19. Lost sight of the Lizard at noon. *July* 30. Anchored at Johanna, in the Comoros. *August* 13. The *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* arrived from Mohilla. *August* 21. Sailed. *September* 21. Met six Dutch ships from the Red Sea. *September* 23. The two fleets anchored in lat. 18° 10′ N. *September* 26. Sailed again. *October* 4. Anchored near Swally. (17½ *pp.*)

[1] Taylor (see p. 50) gives his name as Thomas Winterborne (cf. Court Minutes, Nov. 27, 1626).

[2] Some place on the way between Lahore and Samāna (probably not far from the former).

[3] Master's mate, and afterwards master.

DAVID DAVIS'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xliv. p. 1).

1626, *April* 7. Sailed from Gravesend. *April* 16. After leaving the Downs, they fell in with a Dutch fleet bound for Rochelle, and kept company until the 22nd. *April* 24. Spoke an Irish barque from Rochelle, and bought some oranges. *May* 3. Saw Porto Santo [near Madeira]. *May* 27. Crossed the Line. *July* 3. Saw the African coast near Cape Agulhas. *July* 29. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 21. Sailed. *September* 17. Met six Hollanders. *October* 3. Anchored near Old Swally. (23½ *pp.*)

ANDREW WARDEN'S[2] ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE TO SURAT IN THE *WILLIAM* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlv. p. 1).

1626, *April* 16. Sailed from the Downs. *May* 27. Crossed the Line. *July* 28. Sighted the Comoro Islands. *July* 30. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 21. Having refreshed their sick men and obtained a store of provisions, the fleet sailed for India. *September* 7. The longboat lost with two men. *October* 3. Anchored near Swally. (17¾ *pp.*)

ROBERT TOTTLE AT SAMĀNA TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, OCTOBER 9, 1626 (*O. C.* 1236).

Has taken certain calicoes from Mr. Offley's peon and sent him away discontented. Has written to Mr. Offley that his peons ought not to meddle with this commodity, 'which belounngeth to our masters cercare'.[3] Happening to meet 'Shecke A [ ]' at the river, Tottle saluted him, hoping to get over at a cheaper rate; but he had to pay all the same. Will take great care in buying cloth. *P.S.*—Begs him to bring Tottle's account of household expenses with him, in order that he may rewrite it. *P.P.S.*—Is keeping half a cheese against his arrival. 'Your pions arrived hear the 8th ditto att tesrepoore[4].' (*Damaged. Received Oct.* 14. 1 *p.*)

[1] Another master's mate in the *Discovery*. He reckons from noon to noon, and his dates frequently differ from those given by his colleagues.

[2] He was a master's mate. His journal is neatly written, but the spelling is extraordinary (see p. 144).

[3] Hind. *sarkār*; see note in the 1618–21 volume, p. 160.

[4] Hind. *tīsrā-pahar*, 'the third watch,' i.e. 12.0 till 3.0 p.m.

Joseph Hopkinson at Surat to John Bangham [at Lahore], October 14, 1626 (*O.C.* 1237).

Sends him five letters [from England ?] and has opened a sixth, which was addressed by Bangham's brother Nicholas to him and Hopkinson jointly. Marvels that he has heard nothing from him or Goodwin about the goods in their hands. Begs him to write, and in case Hopkinson has returned to England to address his letters to Richard Wylde. Has just got back from a hard voyage to Mokha and is somewhat unwell. Mr. Barber and William Gibson are come out as factors. (1 *p.*)

John Vian's Account of the Attack on Bombay (*Marine Records*, vol. xliii. p. 18).

1626, *October* 8. The Dutch and English fleets sailed from Swally. *October* 10. Met two Dutch ships, the *Zierikzee* and *Wapen* [*van Zeeland*], from Batavia. *October* 12. Anchored five miles off 'Bumbay', 'we thinkinge our enimye the Portingall had bene there, but he was not theare with anie shipps.' *October* 13. 'We and the whole fleete, both of English and Duch, went into Bumbay and came to an anckor in 9 fatham; one pointe beareing WNW. per compasse, the other SSW.; the one 3 mile off, the other 3 leagus of. This was in the entringe of the harbor.' *October* 14. 'This daie we went with the whole fleete in farther, neare a smalle towne or village, where there were Portingalls. Wee anckored, and rode a mile of in 6 faddam, one point per compasse beareinge WSW. 5 mile of, the other S. & by W. some 5 leagues of. Wee came soe neere the towne with two of our shipps that wee drove them all awaye with our great ordnance, viz. the *Morrice* of the English and the *Mauritius* of the Duch. In safetie we landed our men on shore, whoe pilladged the towne and set their houses all on fire, with their fort neere the water side. Yea, we staide there the 15th daye, doeinge all the spoyle that possiblie we could; but we gott nothinge to speake of but vittuall. Soe when wee had done all the harme we could, the 15th daye in the evening wee gott our men aboord, leaveinge the towne on fire. And the 16 daie in the morneinge, when the winde cam of shore, wee wayed anckor and went off to sea againe.' *October* 17 *and* 18.

'We plied it for Surratt againe, seeinge wee could not meete with the Portingalls shipps, for we came purposlie to meete them, and did seeke for them.' *October* 21. Met the *Christopher* between Gandevī and Surat Bar. *October* 23. Anchored near Swally. *October* 24. The *William*, *Blessing*, *Discovery*, *Morris*, and *Christopher* went into 'Swallie Swack'. *October* 25. The *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* came in also. (1½ *pp.*)

David Davis's Account of the Same Incident (*Ibid.*, vol. xliv. p. 24).

1626, *October* 8. The allied fleets sailed. *October* 9. Met the *Zierikzee* and *Wapen van Zeeland*. *October* 11. Anchored 'in the offinge before Bombaye'. Consultation held aboard the *William*. *October* 12. 'We waied and sayled in neere the going into the baye, to see yf the Portingalls weare ther. And the comanders sent their shallupps to chase fisher boats that weare in the offing, wherof they tooke two, the one loaden with sault, which came out of the baye, the other a fisher boate.' *October* 13. 'We went into the baye and roade without the stakes, as you maye see in the draft following.'[1] *October* 14. 'The *Moris* and two Dutch shipps went in neere the greate howse to batter agaynst it; in which batterie two of the *Moris* ordnance splitt. The same daie we landed 300 men, Englishe and Dutch, and burnt all their kittjonns howses,[2] and tooke the greate howse, with two basses of brasse and one fakon of iron.'[3] *October* 15. 'All our men embarkqued aboorde the shipps, being Sonday in the evening, and lefte the greate howse, which was boath a warehowse, a friery, and a forte, all afire burning with many other good howses, together with two nywe frigetts not yett frome the stockes nor fully ended; but they hadd caried awaye all their treasur and all things of any vallue, for all were runde awaye before our men landed.' *October* 16. 'In the morning we wayed and sayled out of Bumbaye.' *October* 21. The *Christopher* joined them. *October* 23. Anchored in Swally Road. *October* 25. Went over the bar. (3½ *pp.*)

[1] See the frontispiece and introduction.

[2] Houses thatched with *cadjan*, i. e. the leaves of the coco-palm.

[3] The 'base' was the smallest kind of cannon in use, with a bore of little more than an inch. The 'falcon' was a larger size, with a bore of two and a half inches.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT BY ANDREW WARDEN (*Marine Records*, vol. xlv. p. 18).

1626, *October* 8. Sailed to meet the expected Dutch and English ships and protect them against the Portuguese. *October* 10. Met two Dutch vessels. The fleet now numbered fourteen sail. *October* 12. Anchored four leagues from 'Bumbaye'. *October* 15. 'In the moringn stode in and ankred, and landed of the Eingles and the Duche sum 400 meane at the leaste, and tooke the forte and casell and the towne, and sett fire of it and all the towne and all the howesein theraboutes, the pepell being all run away that night and ded caray away all the best cometeies [commodities], levein nothein butt trashe.' *October* 16. 'In the moringen we sete sayle and came out to seae.' *October* 21. Anchored with the *Christopher* off Surat Bar. A boat brought orders from the President for the ships to go to Diu Head, but as water was scarce it was decided to make for Swally. *October* 24. Anchored in the Hole. (2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT HAWLEY AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 18, 1626 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 377).

Wrote last on July 24 by Gregory Clement, who went as a passenger in one of the two Dutch ships of defence. The *Falcon* reached Masulipatam on May 1, and was dispeeded thence on June 11, but did not arrive at Batavia until September 21 [*see* p. 145]. On October 8 the *Exchange* came in from England, bringing 40,000 rials ; and in consequence they are now dispatching the pinnace *Abigail* to Masulipatam with 50,000 rials in cloves, sandal-wood, turtle-shells, Japan plate, and money. 'A small shew will it make in the distracted factory, now divided with more hast then good speed (to accomodate those factoryes janglings) into three parts, viz. to Muslapatam, Pettapoly, and Armagong, which wee confesse were not inconvenient had wee meanes to maintaine trade, and some of them wee wished, to supply us with paintings, yet should wee have forborne them unto [*sic*] our plenty had been better.' To add to their troubles, Mr. Mills, the chief, 'is so blemished with accusation that, without eclypsinge ourselves, hee

cannot bee contynued untill a juditiall purgation may passe; his second, Trafford, suddenly dead; a third there is of reasonable sufficiency, but alack what is that to manage those dispersed factoryes?' Are consequently obliged to furnish them with inexperienced newcomers. As the ship is departing in a hurry, to save the monsoon, they cannot write at length. Blame the neglect of the Company in not sending larger supplies of money, for want of which all their efforts are fruitless. Hope that the Surat factors will furnish them with a large consignment of calicoes and money, which they will repay at the first opportunity. Send some local news. Accuse Gregory Clement of connivance with Jonas Colbach in private trade. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THOMAS MILLS, [THOMAS] JOHNSON, AND [ROBERT] HAWLEY AT MASULIPATAM, OCTOBER 18, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 382).

Enclose copy of their last letter of June 17. The *Falcon* arrived September 25,[1] and her Dutch consort three days later. Her master, [Joseph] Wills, died during the voyage, and was succeeded by Mr. Price. Complaints of negligent stowage, &c. Now answer their letters of May 4 and June 3, 10 and 11. Note their account of the wreck of the *Rose*, and appreciate their efforts to save the cargo, with their 'friendly furtherance by the Danish Generall'. Cannot account for the loss in weight found in its lading, unless some of the private traders made up their own stocks from the Company's. 'Your project for Armagon, your expedition thether, your entertaynement there, and your successe with the Naique wee both understand and well approve; yet wee must confesse it had well contented us if deferrance of settling had been understood [*sic*] of yourselves untill with provision wee might more sufficiently have made our first entrance then now our conveniencyes will give us leave. But what is past shall well please us, and wee doubt not of a convenient and happy habitation; for which accomodation wee now send you 20 men, whereof some artificers, the rest souldiers . . . Our Ensigne Smith wee also send to traine and lead them.' Have now forwarded such stores and necessaries as could be spared; what is wanting must be supplied locally. Timber,

[1] This date is confirmed by the *Dagh Register*.

they think, must be available from the store left at Masulipatam by the *Hart*, and they would be glad if the surplus were sent to Batavia. Mr. Johnson is to be chief in that factory [Armagon]; and Nicholas Bix and Thomas Grove are now sent to assist him. For household officers they may choose among the soldiers. For Petapoli, Lawrence Henley, Arthur Fowkes, and Simon Dyott are sent; but the question of continuing or dissolving that factory is left to be decided at Masulipatam. With regard to their complaint against the Dutch of Pulicat, some conference has been had with the chiefs here,[1] who professed ignorance, 'yet shewed signes of discontent that wee should come so neer unto them, considering the multitude of other plases farther off, allaginge many inconveniencies by trusting [*sic*], interminglinge, and inhansing of commodities by this kind of plantation;' in reply to which they assured them of their friendly intentions, and that their settling at Armagon 'was for no other end but for accomodations of paintings, and the place meerly by chance fallen upon'. Urge the maintenance of friendly relations with Pulicat. Are sorry the saltpetre was kept back, as they would have been glad to send it to England in the *London* for a trial. Regret the death of Mr. Trafford and marvel that his accounts were found in bad order; possibly, however, some have been overlooked. Blame the course taken with his estate, and the remissness with which the inventory was compiled. As Mr. Mills has not answered the accusations made against him, he is to return in the *Abigail*, leaving the bearer, George Brewen, as chief in his place. First, however, they look to him 'for the delivery of our letter and present unto the Naick of Armagon; yet not so much for a bare delivery as that your assistance and furthrance may be at hand for the agreeing of priviledges with the said Naick; which you may demand under hand and seale, or as their manner is, according to these prescriptions herinclosed [*not extant*] both in English and Portugueese (which wee doubt not will bee inteligible unto you), and, as we hope, are such as can with no reason be denyed. Part wee perceive are already agreed, which wee will not alter; but the rest wee desire may bee punctually granted if possible; and whatsoever els in your owne conceits you find convenient may of yourselves bee

[1] See the *Dagh Register*, p. 291.

moved.' They trust that Mills will be able to effect this and yet return by the *Abigail*; but if he cannot, and there is no one else who can suitably undertake it, he may stay until the next ship. Eustace Man, master of the *Abigail*, is to be admitted to consultations during his stay. Trust that the dissensions in the factory will be healed. Approve the retention of Robert Hawley to assist in the factory. He is hereby appointed second to Mr. Brewen, and his wages are increased to 40*l.*, rising by 10*l.* per annum. Richard Hudson,[1] who came out in the *Anne*, has asked for employment, and is appointed an assistant accordingly; his wages will be fixed on receipt of a report on his abilities and character. Have received the specimens of gold coin, but can do nothing in the matter at present. It is strange that the advantage of using this specie in place of rials has not been brought to their notice before. Cannot advise them as to the sale of Mr. Harby's coral; their own experience must serve. The disposal of the cargo of the *Abigail* is left to their discretion; but a friendly understanding should be maintained with the Dutch in regard to the commodities in which they are interested. The bar lead in the ship is to be returned to Batavia, unless a specially good price should be offered for it. They would be glad of two or three 'basse cables' [coir ropes?], which they hear are made in those parts. Enclose a book of instructions for account-keeping and other matters. The present for the Nāyak of Armagon is described in the invoice; the manner of its delivery is left to the factors, who are also at liberty to alter the draft demands of privileges. The *Abigail* should be back at Batavia by the end of January, in order that she may proceed to England. Supply of victuals to the ship's company, &c. The appointment of a clerk or purser at Armagon to keep accounts will be necessary. The factories are to be 'maintained with civill, sober men', and negligent or debauched persons or common drunkards should be discarded. Trust that the soldiers for Armagon will be found sufficiently equipped. As for the *Rose's* men, 'already there in service,' they may either be returned or added to the garrison. 'Ensigne Smith, there leader, latly com forth of England under

[1] Son of the Arctic explorer. For a notice of his career see *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 11; to which may be added that he became chief at Balasor in August, 1647, and died there early in the following year.

that denomination, wee have graced with the title of lieuetenant, for now hee is a leader; and wee make no doubt but hee will deserve that tytle, for hee seemeth to bee a civill, well demeaned gentleman, and is appoynted to dyeet at the marchants table.'[1] *P.S.*—The letter for Surat is left open for perusal. *Enclosures*: (1) Invoice of goods laden in the *Abigail*, amounting to 52,101 rials 22; (2) a list of cotton goods in demand at Batavia, &c.; (3) the purser's receipt; (4) list of military stores, carpenters' tools, &c., sent. (*Copies. In all* 13 *pp.*)

George Muschamp at Batavia to George Brewen [bound for Masulipatam], October 18, 1626 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 400).

The gold delivered to him on the joint account of the writer and Mr. Bix is to be sold and the proceeds returned in cotton cloths. The small box of pearls may be disposed of for less than the invoiced prices if necessary; and the proceeds should be invested in the same manner. Desires two doublets of white 'gingam, imbrodered with mogo' [*see* p. 25], cut to the accompanying pattern. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Richard Steel at Batavia to the Same, October 19, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 399).

Begs him to ask Mills to remit 100 rials by exchange to President Kerridge, in order that it may be sent to England for the relief of Steel's wife and family. If Mills objects to do this on the security of the goods in his hands belonging to Steel, the latter desires Brewen to advance the money to him. The rest should be invested in suitable commodities, including wearing apparel. *P.S.*—Mills is to be persuaded to 'put of those jewells'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Gabriel Hawley to the Same, October 19, 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 401).

A consignment of nutmegs, mace, alum, and gold, to the value of 981 rials, is to be delivered to Robert Hawley. The alum belongs to the President (Henry Hawley). A proportion of the gold

[1] Apparently he was the first English military officer to serve in India. Nothing has been traced regarding his appointment. His Christian name was Osmond.

(to the value of 262¾ rials) is to be paid to Richard Hudson. Any proceeds of the consignment should be invested by Brewen and 'my cozen, Robert Hawley'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT TOTTLE AT 'SINUND' [SIRHIND] TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, NOVEMBER 8, 1626 (*O.C.* 1238).

Explains that in writing for bills for 10,000 or 12,000 rupees, he meant 10,000 'rupes Jangers [*see* p. 33 *n.*], which is small twelve thousand'. This obscurity was an oversight, and he will be more careful in future. Has now received payment of the bills sent. Will take as much pains in investing Bangham's money as if the latter were present himself. 'Some 28 course [*kos*] of this place, hath appened a great slautter of men, Moebutt Ckonns peopell bringinge a casaune, from whome the Beagams servantt[s] have tacken itt, and yesterdaie arrived with itt hear.'[1] *P.S.*—Has received a letter from Offley which he does not understand. Will answer it from Samāna. (*Endorsed as received November* 14, 1 *p.*)[2]

ROBERT TOTTLE AT SAMĀNA TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 18, 1626 (*O.C.* 1239).

Transmits letters received from Agra with the Council's orders of October 14 for the discontinuance of the Samāna investment. Does not see how this can now be effected, for he has sent the cloth bought to the washers and has distributed some 4,000 rupees to the weavers, who will bring in their goods within ten days. (*Received November* 23. ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 26,[3] 1626 (*O.C.* 1240).

Employment of 400 rupees on behalf of Bangham. Will shortly draw upon him for 500 or more. Does not intend to make any

[1] For this incident see Sir H. Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. pp. 431, 434. A treasure caravan (*khazāna*) from Bengal for Mahābat Khān had reached Shāhābād when it was attacked and captured by a party of the royal troops, sent to intercept it.

De Laet (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, p. 269), says that the treasure was 26 lacs of rupees, and that the Rājpūts guarding it made a great slaughter among their assailants. Herbert (ed. 1638, p. 101), repeats De Laet's story.

[2] The letter has a seal, bearing the impression of the reverse of a *chau tānkī* struck at Ahmadābād and dated in the reign of Akbar (information from Mr. R. Burn, I. C. S.).

[3] 'One poore in the morninge.' We have here an early use of the Hind. *pahar*, 'a fourth part of the day or night' (see note on p. 147 of the 1618–21 volume).

investment here on his own account. 'You writ that you ar comptted cucha sewdagers for my acceptinge of the abatment of rup[ees] 30 withoutt reason. I praie gett the sherrafes to writt a word or twoe and send itt me, and I will make them knowe that wee are barra sewdagers'.[1] (*Endorsed as received on the 31st* [*sic*]. ½ *p.*)

President Kerridge and Messrs. Wylde, Burt, and Page at Surat to the Company, November 29, 1626 (*O.C.* 1241).

Refer to their letters of March 3 and 29 [*missing*], sent by the *Royal James* and *Jonas*, which they hope have safely arrived. The *Royal Exchange* and *Christopher* met them at the Cape, where they arrived on July 7 and departed the 17th, intending to go straight to England. The factory at Ahmadābād was dissolved before the dispatch of the ships, and that of Broach immediately after. Of the cloves received from Batavia in the *James*, some were sold at Agra (but at mean prices, owing to the competition of the Dutch), some were forwarded to Ahmadābād, and some remain here unsold. The Broach factors were sent to Burhānpur to dispose of some English goods and a quantity of rūnās received from Persia; this they effected (though at some sacrifice) and remitted the proceeds to Ahmadābād, where they were employed, together with the receipts from the sale of some cloves and rūnās carried thither by the broker, in satisfying their creditors. The ten chests of coral remaining on hand, rated at 2,354*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* or 47,095 mahmūdīs 2⅔ [pice],[2] have been sold for 75,896 mahmūdīs 3 [pice]. Cannot tell which sorts yielded most profit, but the total proceeds are far less than previous consignments have produced. The ten chests brought by the *James* from Persia out of the *Lion's* cargo have also been sold, and to much better advantage. Little demand anywhere for broadcloths, velvets, satins, and the like, owing partly to large quantities having been brought overland through Persia, and partly to the absence of the King, 'who hath

[1] *Barā saudāgar*, a big (or skilled) merchant, as opposed to *kachchā saudāgar*, a small (or indifferent) one. By 'sherraffes' is of course meant 'shroffs' or bankers.

[2] This shows that the mahmūdī was brought to account as equal to an English shilling (cf. p. 156), and 32 pice were reckoned to the mahmūdī.

spent all this sommer in travelling to and from Cabull, the confines of his territories towards Tartaria.' There are still sixteen or eighteen broadcloths remaining at Lahore of those sent up to Agra two years ago. In their last they advised the sale of 47 pieces of tapestry at Lahore to Āsaf Khān, who has since deferred payment in order to force the factors to reduce the price they were asking for Sir Francis Crane's three suits of tapestry. These, 'having layne long in his custodie, and none other daring to buy them,' were at last sold to him, except one piece, which has since been delivered to Muqarrab Khān, together with eight pieces belonging to the Company. The remaining two pieces have been sold to Khwāja Abūl Hasan, but neither he nor Muqarrab Khān has yet made payment. 'The proceed of those sould unto Asaph Chaun hath been procured, with verry much difficultie and expence, your factour being forced to followe the King a long tyme, for its recovery happened through unexpected alteracions att the court in manner following. Asaph Chaun being father-in-lawe by marriage of his daughter unto the Prince Charome, the Kings third sonne, who (as you have doubtlesse bin advertized), murthering his elder brother, rebelled against his father and by force of armes aspired unto the crowne; in which attempt having susteyned sundry overthrowes, hee lastlie fledd from the King his army unto Bengall, and thence by way of Musulopotan unto Decan, where hovering under the protection of Malick Amber hee submissively sought reconciliacion, which his said father-in-lawe (being still in favour) mediating by intercession of his sister, the predominant Queene, obtained that Mahobett Chaun, gennerall of the King his army, Charoomes feirce enimy, should bee dismissed from that charge; who after long deniall resigneing and comeing unto the court, the King being then some 40 course from Lahore in his progresse towards Cabull, his pavillion with his famuly and attendants being pitched on the side of a river and his nobles on the other, the said Mahobett Chaun with [ ] 8 or 10,000 horse came suddainly unto him, slewe all such as seemed to question or dislike the manner of his coming, and, having accesse unto the King his presence, tooke him imediatelie with him unto his owne tents; whereupon the Queene amasedlie fledd unto hir brother and frends on the other side the river, by a bridge purposelie made for passage

to and fro, which imediately after was cutt downe to prevent others from going over. The King, after private conference with the said Mahobett Chaun, was with great reverence returned againe unto his owne pavillion, and the Queene by his command sent for; who, rendring all dutie, refused to come untill a feild weare tryed twixt hir frends and enimyes; which the next mornning she with them put in execucion, and passing the river (hardlie foordable) were encountred by Mahobutt Chauns armie on the Kings side, who, though by farre the lesse nomber, with the slaughter of about 5,000 menn put the Queene hir frends to flight. She hirselfe, after assurance given by Mahobet Chaun for hir safety, came unto the King. Hir brother recovered a castle of his owne with many of his frends; some were slaine, but most, pretending the Kings service, weare pardoned and continewed in office. Assaph Chaun, being beseidged in his castle, rendred on assurance of life, and hath ever since untill verry latelie remained closse prisoner in the custodie and charge of Mahobett Chaun, notwithstanding the Queenes uttmost dilligence and the Kings perswadeing an accord twixt them; all which tyme Mahobett Chaun hath governed, nothing having been graunted without him, and in such extremitie that the insolence of his followers hath greved not only the campe but the inhabitants of Cabull also, who, instigated by some great men, att a signe given slewe in an instant almost 2,000 of his souldiers, that expected noe such massacre, and their fellowes in revenge have since done divers outrages err both sides could bee pacified, which the King lastly effected, and being againe returned neere the river aforemencioned where the Queenes frends weare overthrowne, she hath with sundry of them reinforced hirselfe for the delivery of hir brother, in such manner as the armies of both have been att point of joyning battle, but still prevented by the Kings endeavours to accord them, which (as report newlie gives out) is seemingly effected, both the mencioned favorities having exchanged hostages and Asaph Chaun delivered; yet newe and greater stirrs suspected, Carome having passed with 3,000 horse onely from Decan through this country unto Sindey, determining (as was supposed) to have fledd into Persia; but Sultan Parveis, the Kings second sonne and eldest then living, who lately obteyned this cittie and the country about it, being deceased

within this 30 dayes [1] att Brampore (as is supposed by poyson) and the army there under command of Chan Irhan,[2] an especiall frend of the Prince Caromes, his hopes are againe revived, and except the King doe pardon his offences (thereby endaungering his owne state and life) newe and great stirrs are like to bee raised, his sonnes army daylie encreasing and hee on his returne from Sindee to Gusurat. Wee have thought requisite to give you this particular relacion of these troubles, as well for that some circumstances in your bussines depend thereon as that the inhabitants doe gennerally feare they are not yet quieted, for the Prince Carome his farther hopes will cause great stirrs both in court and country, who although hee bee nowe the eldest living of the Kings children, yett hath hee a younger brother [Shahriyār], marryed to the daughter of the beloved Queene aforesaid, the sonne [Dāwar Bakhsh] also of his elder brother being a hopefull gentleman and indubitate heire in favour of the King, and all of them competitours for the kingdome. John Banggam, following Asaph Chaun unto the river aforemencioned, procured order from him unto his treasurer att Lahore for payment of the debt, and attending company for securitie in travell this alteracion happened in the interim, when tents, goods, and carriages of the conquered partie (before ought could bee quieted) became a prey to the souldiers, though Assaph Chauns estate in generall was graunted as a giuft unto his sister, who presentlie promised the paymente of his debts, and hopeing of his release deferred the creditours untill hir being at Cabull, where she gave command for their satisfaccion to be paid from his treasure in Lahore, which, besides the expence in travell, hath drawne sundry presents, bribes, and other charges erre procured.' Of the 35,832 rupees thus recovered, part has already been remitted by exchange to Agra and the rest has been ordered to be sent thither also (with the proceeds of other sales) for investment in indigo and 'semanos', which are to be procured 'in the cittie of Semana where they are made'. The factors at Agra have bought 3,000 maunds of saltpetre, but have apparently neglected the reiterated orders for the provision of indigo there. A sum of 22,000 rupees has

[1] Parwīz died on Tuesday, October 17, 1626 O. S. (6 Safar, A. H. 1036). Elliot and Beale both give the Hijra year as 1035, but this is clearly an error, due (Mr. Beveridge tells me) to a mistake in the *Iqbālnāma*.

[2] A copyist's error for Jahān.

been sent from Surat for the latter purpose, but they are doubtful whether it can be profitably employed, as according to Offley's letter the prices had risen before he commenced to buy. The pinnace *Spy* reached St. Augustine's Bay early in June and went thence to the Comoro Islands. At Johanna a letter was found from Captain Blyth, stating that the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* were safe and had gone to Mohilla, whereupon the *Spy* proceeded to Comoro to leave fresh letters and get into touch with Blyth. On July 29 the *William*, *Blessing*, and others of that fleet reached Johanna under Captain Brown. Having been joined by the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*, they all set sail on August 21, and a month later reached the appointed rendezvous, where they found six Dutch ships returned from Mokha. They then proceeded to Swally, arriving on October 3, 'to our great comforts by the supplie they brought for the disingagemente of our debts and the renewing your affaires here.' 'Speult, after his departure from Swalley in company of the *James* &c., resolving to winter his ladenn shipps in the Redd Sea, tooke with him also three other of his best shipps, which made their nomber seven . . . . who escaped an encounter with the like nomber of gallиouns in the Streights of Mocho, being the same that here attended our shipps goeing forth; whose intelligencers having ascertained them of our resolucion to attend for the Dutchs companie, they (being formerly provided with fitting necessaries) imediately sett saile for the Redd Sea, and in the entrance of the Streights surprised certaine small vessells of the Indian coast for sailing without their licence, and weare thence (it seemes) departed for Muscatt before the Dutch arrived. Although it pleased God to prevent this encounter, yet Speult ended his dayes in Mocho,[1] and there is interred. One of his shipps, called the *Good Fortune*, sunck att sea in their returne, having in hir 44 peeces ordnance, whereof 16 brasse, which losse they estimate att 12,000*l.* sterling, though some fewe goods and all her men weare saved. The mencioned Portugall galliouns, having visited Muscat, returned for the coast of India; and being nowe but six shipps, discrying the Dutch a day before their coming in with the land, used their best endeavour to have encountred them; which the Dutch (having advantage of winde) in regard

[1] He died on July 13, 1626 (O. S.): see *Dagh Register*, 1624–29, p. 303.

of their laden shipps avoided,[1] though provoked by sundry challenging shott from the enimies admirall; who, having made the land, directed their course for Damon, awayting their comeing or some other adventure of lesse strength; when, receaving advertisment of your fleets conjoyning with the Dutch, they stood over for Diu to avoide their discerning. Both fleets having attended three daies in port, and wee in the interim discharged your treasure and rich goods, noe other shipps of either nation arriving, the Dutch comanders propounded expence of the tyme lymitted in the lattitude assigned, thereby to conserve the shipps expected and unarrived; whereto wee (as reason) condiscendeing, they joynctlie againe repaired thither, and having mett with two Dutch shipps [*see* pp. 142, 143] come from Batavia with a cavidall of 35,000 rialls in money, spice, &c., entred all togeather into the port of Bombayee; where finding little or noe resistance, they landed some people and sett on fire all that could bee burned in a small fort and monastery adjoyning, where was found only two or three little peeces ordnance of meane vallewe, the inhabitants being fledd with what was portable. This exploit acted, the limitted tyme expired, and noe other shipps appearing, they joynctlie returned towards Swalley; and neere Damon mett with your shipp the *Christopher*, who with them arrived here the 23 passed moneth, and brought us gladd tideings of the *James* and *Jonas* safe being at the Bay of Saldania, as afore is mencioned; whence the *Christopher* setting saile 22 July, left there the *Exchange*, attending recovery of hir sick men, and arrived att Joanna the 3th of September, being eleaven daies after Captain Brownes departure.' By these ships they received the Company's letters, &c., which shall be answered in full by the next opportunity. They landed all the treasure, except one chest of rials reserved as ordered for Persia. 'One chest of your gold wee have sent entire to Amadavad, as well for disingagemente of our debts as to commence newe investments; thother remayneth by us yet undisposed; in which sort of spetiae you need not henceforth doubt to send large supplie, for that it will generally yeald about 6 per cent. proffitt more then rialls, as per this ensuing vallu[a]cion[2]: Lion dollers of Holland,

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 263.

[2] The first four varieties named are well-known silver coins. For 'Ambertin' we should

whereof one was returned you by William Hoare on the *Jonah*, cost in England 3*s*., worth here 4 m[ahmūdīs] 2½ pice. Zeland dollers, whereof also a muster was sent you by the said Mr. Hoare, cost in England 2*s*. 8*d*., worth here 3¼ m[ahmūdīs]. Rix dollers, receaved this yeare, yeald equall proffitt with best rialls of eight, being both worth 5 m[ahmūdīs] lesse 2½ pice; but the Venetian doller will yeald 5 m[ahmūdīs] if full weight. Ambertin gould, that cost in England 3*l*. 6*s*. 10*d*. the ounce, is worth here 28½ m[ahmūdīs] the tolla, and 2½ talas 3 valls make an ounce, which yeildeth 3*l*. 13*s*. 3*d*. Dutch Riders, cost in England 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. the ounce, worth here 29 m[ahmūdīs] the tola, 2½ tolas 3 valls makeing one ounce, and is 3*l*. 15*s*. 3*d*. Hungary ducketts, cost 3*l*. 13*s*. the ounce, worth here 31¼ m[ahmūdīs] per tola, which maketh 4*l*. 1*s*., accompting the m[ahmūdī] for one shilling. Checkeens and Barbary ducketts, and all sorts of fine gold, will yeild answerable benefitt here, according to the finenesse thereof, and the rich[er] it is the more esteeme and vallew it hath. Furthermore, bee pleased to observe that the English 20*s*. peice is worth here 21¾ m[ahmūdīs]. Double pistoletts, conteyneing 3*l*. 8*s*. 3*d*., worth 29 m[ahmūdīs] the tola, which is 3*l*. 15*s*. 3*d*. the ounce.' Disposal of the broadcloth sent. Some loss has been caused by a quantity brought for private trade; also many cloths were badly prepared or insufficiently wrappered. Remarks on the kerseys and perpetuanoes. The quicksilver has been put into coco-nuts for better preservation; it has been in good demand all this year, as the Dutch brought none, and very little has come from Portugal or the Red Sea. Private trade injured the market for a time, but they have now disposed of their whole stock at a good price. Have sold two chests of coral at a fair profit, but the quantity sent is very large. Elephants' teeth in no demand at present. The lead sent is much more than this place will vend in one year. 'The last

probably read 'Albertine', a gold coin issued by the Archduke Albert of Austria. The Dutch 'rider' (so-called from the figure on it) was worth about 16*s*., and the Hungary ducat was of much the same value as the Venetian sequin (here called 'checkeen'). As regards the Barbary ducat, we may note that in Ralegh's *Remaines* (p. 199) mention is made of a 'ducket currant for three ounces in Barbary . . . then worth in England seven shillings and sixpence.' The double pistolet referred to was probably that of Lorraine.

[1] 'Observe that 32 valls is a tola' (*marginal note*). On these two weights see the 1618–21 volume, pp. 47, 57, and that for 1622–23, p. 154.

Customer, when the governemente was Sieff Chauns, used to engrosse it all, and att his resigninge had quantities unsould, which since he hath forced on the traders in Amadavad, whose hands being full wee shall sell little untill theirs be spent. The present Governour, being the lately deceased Prince his servant,[1] doth not meddle with that nor any other comoditie.' The amber beads will doubtless sell to good profit. Satins have greatly fallen, both in price and esteem, and none should be sent except for presents. Some now received are much spotted. The plush also has been damaged in packing, but they will endeavour to sell it, as also the cloth of tissue, tapestry, &c. They will do their best to dispose of the jewels sent, 'although the court of this King is greatlie impaired of its formerlie accustomed magnificence, and jewells of all kinds in farr lesse then wonted estimacion ; which, if the present occasion did not contradict, should induce us to withdrawe your people thence, especially for that our comodities doe not sell to any proffitt answerable the charge of a resedence, which for other negociacions needeth not, our usage here being better then ever, and past exactions or wrongs (for ought wee perceave) are not to bee remedied there.' Their preparation of return cargoes has been hindered by 'the last yeares dissolucion of adjacent factories, want of meanes in generall, disturbances att court, and necligence in your Agra factours' ; but they have ordered an investment in round indigo, and intend the purchase of flat indigo at Ahmadābād. The Company's directions regarding the provision of calicoes and other goods shall be carefully followed ; but they fear that they will be unable to supply much pepper, as little has been brought from the Deccan of late. Probably only one ship will be sent home this season, and her dispatch will be late. 'Concerning your purpose in generall to augment your trade in theis parts, our uttmost industry shalbee applied to its furtherance.' It is of special importance that a regular exchange of commodities should be maintained with Batavia ; the President there has promised his best assistance, 'and wee earnestly instance your absolute order to its effecting.' The *Christopher* is now about to be dispeeded thither. The rest of the ships (accompanied by the Dutch) will go

[1] As already stated (p. 152), Surat had been granted in *jāgīr* to the late Prince Parvīz.

to Persia with the goods, &c., assigned to those factories, and a few Indian commodities. The trade with Persia is not so profitable as 'either the Red Sea or Southwards', 'because the proceed, imployed in silk, doth lose att its returne home (consideracion of the tyme included) neere so much as is gotten by the investment from hence.' It would be better if the returns from Persia were made in money 'for increase of stock'. 'Trade att Dabull will doubtlesse bee a great furtherance to your Persian designe, the country of Decann affoarding shashes and all other sorts of rich clothing fitting those parts, besides pepper, a constant comodity in the one and yealds profitable vend in the other. Like proffitt may also bee made thence into the Red Sea; and benefitt wilbee made in the sale of Europe comodities and home returnes yearely: for which respects Your Worships order in setling there should suddenly bee attempted, if the Portingall forces awaiting our seperacion did not prevent it; which yet may happily take effect for iniciacion at the fleets finall disposure this yeare, though our former difference with those people causeth some doubt. Our letter per the *James*, &c., declareth our sending of Joseph Hopkinson and Nathaniell West unto Mocho on the Dutch shipps, whence they are safely returned. Your people left there by the *Jonas* weare then all liveing, their pepper sould, and the proceed in their owne possession, whereof Joseph Hopkinson brought thence 7,000 rialls of eight in gould and silver, but the persons of your servants could not bee lycensed, the Governour alleadging their detencion to secure the Indian traders. The Dutch sent two principall menn unto the Bashawe at Scinan [Sana] with a present of neere 1,000 ryalls of eight, resolving to have settled factory there, and remitt the former losses unto the Grand Seignors justice, if their people so long detained prisoners might first bee freed; whose libertie being denied untill others weare settled, nothing was done save only sale of sundrie spices and Indian commodities to the vallue of 30,000 rialls of eight.[1] Since whose comeing thence wee have received by a junck of th[at] place two firmanes from the Bashawe in answere of letters sent him by Thomas Kerridge and Joseph Hopkinson, which att the Dutches departure weare not come downe unto the port; the effect of both being to invite trade and secure

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 263.

the Indian vessells, with promise also not to question any passed bussines (not being done in his t[ime]); which though by generall affirmacion of his disposicion and other circumstances wee may confide upon, yet his goverment being expired (which is but for three yeares) wee are liable to the demand of any other Bashawe, except you procure the Grand Seignors comand to the contrary. All which notwithstanding, wee may visitt Mocho this yeare with a shipp or two, if feare of the Portinguall doth not hinder.' The factors at Masulipatam have been informed of the Company's orders for the sending of shipping thither from Surat, to be laden and returned direct for England. This course, however, is not so easy as seems to be thought, for a ship could not well be ready to start till June or July, and that would mean her arrival home in mid-winter. It would be better to let one of the outgoing fleet go straight to Masulipatam, arriving there in September, when she could lade and sail for Europe within two or three months after. The best course of all would be to dispatch a ship from England in November or December, so that she might reach Masulipatam the following summer and depart again in October. 'In her bee pleased to send experienced factours, those at Mesulputam earnestly desireing to goe home.' 'Wee have seriouslie considered your advice concerning fortificacion, and are greatly perplext wee cannot give you hope of any to bee effected in theis parts. Bombayee, whereof you have been enformed, is noe ill ayre, but a pleasant, friutfull soile and excellent harbor, as experience of our owne people doth testifie. But the difficulties for you alone to fortifie there maketh it many waies inconvenient, if not impossible to bee accomplished, seing the Portinguall, whose country it is, will with their uttmost force prevent its commence and bee perpetuall disturbers of the prosecucion; the consideracion whereof hath induced us by writing to invite the Dutch principalls in the behaulf of both Companies unto a frendlie conjunction in the attempt and equall division of the successe, whereby wee intended a double fortificacion, and each to have a fort severall for the better strengthning of the harbour from invasion; who in their reply doe meerely reject the project as incommodious, and to our apprehension absolutely refuse any conjoyning.[1] . . . The second place in your letter

[1] A Dutch letter from Swally (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 263) mentions

nominated is to farre distant from hence for any such intent; incertain of conveniencie, and unlikely also. The third[1] tyme may manifest how convenient and what is to bee effected. But the fourth (in my knowledge that have seen it) is a most barren place, and noe fresh water there, nor any releefe on land to bee had; and besides many other inconveniences is to farre remote from all places of your trade, and indeed Hope without hope.'[2] Nothing heard from Persia since last year. Burt is now proceeding thither. Their operations are greatly hampered by the presence of the Portuguese galleons, and it is much to be wished that they were destroyed; the Dutch, however, will only stand on the defensive. Orders should be given to the next ships to sail in company with the Dutch, either from the Downs or from the Cape, as the Portuguese may waylay them if they make the Comoros their rendezvous. Nothing has been heard of the *Spy* since her arrival at that group, and it is suspected that her master purposely refrained from joining the fleet there in order to avoid being 'under command'. She may, however, have been blown out of her course to Socotra. That she has been captured they do not believe, 'as well in respect of the master his resolucion' as the absence of any report of this from the Portuguese. The *Anne* has been broken up at Batavia as unserviceable, and Gregory Clement, who went in her, returned aboard a Dutch ship. The *Christopher* is about to be sent thither; and by the time of the return of the fleet from Persia a further consignment of goods shall be prepared. A ship will also be dispatched to Masulipatam with 8,000 rials or more to pay the debts there, the expected supply from Batavia having failed. Had hoped to receive by these ships a competent number of able factors to fill the places of 'your auntient servants' who have died or returned to England; but only a few men have arrived, 'and some of them also so unserviceable that they are not to bee relied on for any bussines; whereby the Dutch in most, if not all, our imployments

the idea of a joint occupation, but doubts whether much profit would result, owing to the probability of Portuguese attacks.

[1] Perhaps Ormus (cf. p. 198).

[2] The place referred to was evidently Khor Jarāma, named by the English 'The London's Hope'. Blyth's fleet (with Kerridge on board) had spent some time there in 1621, and the excellence of the harbour had been specially noted (see the 1618–21 volume, pp. 286, 288).

have the advantage, farr exceeding us as well in nomber as abillities; and therein your prejudice is more then you seeme to apprehend, and your business cannott bee effected as you desire, except you will bee pleased to releve yourselves by sending experienced marchants and not rawe youths, as most of theis are; wherein bee pleased to excuse our boldnes, for it doth greatlie concerne you. The Dutch fleet, as afore is mencioned, doth consist of eight shipps, four of whom weare here laden the last yeare, as then was advised, viz. three under the title of States shipps and one of the Companies, namely the *Golden Lion*, which last is neere of equall burthen with the other three, of whome two being found uncapable of returne, their goods are nowe transladen upon the *Walcheren*, and proceed (as themselves affirm) in company of the rest for Persia to take in silke there in readines, and thence for the Netherlands without returning heather; by whome wee send you this our letter and writings . . . . in charge of the comander, Cornelius Jacobson.' A second copy has been entrusted to Vincent Harris, Captain Bacon's son-in-law, who came out in the *Palsgrave* and is now returning in the *Walcheren*. *P.S.* (*December* 14)—Since writing, 'a sodaine rumour of the Prince Charoome his approach within 20 course of Surratt so distracted all men that wee could not proceed in any bussinesse in six or seven dayes following; which tyme he spent in passing by, yett came no neerer then within 12 course of the towne, but proceeded in very peaceable manner unto his former rendezvous in Decan; whereby it is generally conceaved the King will pardon his former offence and receave him againe into grace.' The same cause has delayed the lading of the *Christopher* and the dispatch of the other ships. Stores and provisions lent to the Dutch. The freight received for Moors' goods and passengers to Persia this year amounts to 22,000 mahmūdīs or upwards, 'which is but a meane consideracion for so much trouble, if your moytie of the customes at Gombroone did not induce its acceptance.' Have written to Messrs. Purifie and Benthall, begging them to remain at their posts; and if they still refuse (but not otherwise), Mr. Burt is to show them a resolution increasing their wages by 10*l.* per annum. Need of more factors (and an accountant) again urged. It is now known that the three Dutch ships are to go straight home from this port; so only five will

accompany the English to Persia, and of those two are so leaky that unless an opportunity be found of using them as fireships they will be cast off at sea. Should the Company determine to send a ship to Masulipatam, it should be remembered that rials (and all other silver) are in less demand there than here, while gold will yield little less in those parts than at Surat. (*Signed copy, sent by way of Batavia.* 13 *pp.*)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON AT AHMADĀBĀD TO JOHN BANGHAM AT AGRA OR ELSEWHERE, DECEMBER 5, 1626 (*O.C.* 1244).

Wrote him briefly from Surat. Merchandise and letters received from Bangham's brother and friends in England. Hopkinson has forwarded the letters but retained the goods for the present. He would be glad to hear that his own goods had been handed over by Goodwin to Bangham; entreats him to do his best to sell them. At his return from Mokha Hopkinson found the President and Council mightily incensed against Bangham, and still more against Offley. Understands that they have recalled Offley and Goodwin, and appointed Bangham and Tottle to remain at Agra until further assistance can be sent. They were chiefly angered by Bangham's omission to write; and now that letters have been received from him they are better satisfied. 'Neyther is theire conceit extraordinary badd of the other, more then what hath proceeded from his owne so long neglect of sending his accompts, and his cozin Cletheroes[1], Willoughbies, and Crispins[2] idle [ ].' 'Corum hath beene within 30 or 40 course of this place, but is passed quietly along towards Bramport[3], as is reported.' Six English and four Dutch ships have left ('as I guesse') for Persia; four more Dutch, laden last year for Europe, have also departed; and the *Christopher* is going to Batavia. A rupee to be given to the bearer, a Balochī. Reached this place on November 11. Clement was coming also, but on the way was diverted to Cambay, whence he is to return to Surat. 'Wee have our hands full here day and night, and scarce time to stirr out.' (*Received February* 20. $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

[1] Robert Clitherow was a son of Sir Christopher Clitherow, whose sister Anne had married Thomas Offley, the father of Justinian.

[2] Crispin Blackden.

[3] Burhānpur.

President Kerridge and Council at Surat to the Factors in Persia, December 7, 1626 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 210).

Acknowledge the receipt on January 20 of a letter from them dated December 31, 1625; also of another from Mr. Purifie, dated January 30, 1626, which came to hand on April 10. Lament the loss of the *Lion*, and trust to be revenged for 'that base and dishonorable crueltie executed on our people in cold blood'. The commanders of the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* defend their action in making for Socotra instead of Gombroon, by alleging that they feared to find the Portuguese in force at Ormus; and as the matter is now beyond remedy, their censure has been referred to the Company. Approve the detention of the fleet last year for the reasons given. Dispatch of ships to England, &c., since. Arrival of the new fleet. The pinnace *Spy* is missing. Matters of account. The carpets sent on the *James* were so dear that the Company has forbidden further purchases. Any man defrauding the customs by passing the goods of others under his name must be severely punished. To satisfy the Persians and the Company, they have this year taken on freight native passengers and their goods, but they find it 'a troublesom bussines and littl[e] profitable'. The factors have doubtless heard overland 'conserning the Companies renewed purpose to prosecute the Persian trade'. Request the early finishing of their accounts. The sale of the Company's rūnās has been much injured by the competition of some brought by a native merchant in the last fleet. Increase of wages to Robert Loftus, George Smith, and John Berriman. At the request of Purifie, they have endeavoured to provide them with a banyan writer that speaks Persian and English, and have asked their own writer to proceed to Gombroon, but he has refused, 'it being utterly against the custome of his cast.' Payment of freight by native passengers. Refer to the Company's advices for instructions regarding trade in Persia, their claim to Ormus, and the subduing of Muskat. Most of the money received from England has been spent in paying off debts, providing goods for the southwards, and purchasing provisions for the ships; the remainder will only suffice for lading home one vessel. 'The merchandize of India doth produce in England more

M 2

then silke or ought you send from Persia.' The Dutch commander here has told Mr. Burt that 'the Shaw hath offered Ormus unto them, which wee doe not beleeve', as he would no doubt first offer his own share to the English, who already have a claim to the rest. Would be glad to hear what has been done regarding the Company's orders to procure its cession. If a joint attack on Muskat be arranged, a stipulation must be made that the English are to be allowed sole possession of the castle after its capture, leaving the rest to the Persians; but the attempt seems too hazardous until the Portuguese galleons have been destroyed. It is not desirable to interest the Dutch in any such undertaking, as they would claim to share the profit, both of that and former actions. The fleet is to be sent back as soon as possible. Mr. Burt takes his passage in the *Blessing*, and William Gibson, John Antill, and George Turner in the other ships; the last-named can act either as surgeon or factor. Two more were to have been sent, but one stayed in England and the other is dead. Trust that the 'ancient standers' will remain until the new comers are sufficiently experienced, especially as the Company have increased their wages by 10*l.* annually. Praise Mr. Burt, who has been appointed from home to be Agent in Persia. Reiterate their last year's request for rose-water, 'pistaches,' almonds, &c., for presents. Shīrāz wine need not be specially bought, as the Company has sent a plentiful supply of Canary, a pipe of which has been put on board the *Blessing* for the Persia factors' use. *P.S.* (*December* 14)—Additional goods sent in the *Palsgrave*. (*Copy.* 7 *pp.*)

Commission from the President and Council of Surat to Captains Blyth and Brown for the Voyage to Persia, December 8, 1626 (*Factory Records*, *Persia*, vol. i. p. 207).

As at present, Blyth is to command the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*, and Brown the *William*, *Blessing*, *Discovery*, and *Morris*, 'conceavinge all of them to bee but one fleete, allthough for conservacion of both your reputes and avoidinge of emulacion wee doe admitt of two admiralls.' To keep company with the Dutch, and if they meet the Portuguese galleons to 'applie your utmost indevours to effect their finale ruine'. No time should be lost in reaching Gombroon. Mr. Burt (who is to succeed as Agent if the post be

vacant, or to take charge of affairs at Gombroon should the present Agent be absent) is exempted from their command and is to be treated with all fitting love and respect. The council nominated by the Company is continued; meetings are to be held on the *Palsgrave* and *William* alternately. Mr. Burt is to rank next to the two commanders. The native passengers are to be courteously and civilly treated, 'for that their kind usadge doth greatly conserne our nacions repute, our particuler frendshipp with these inhabitants, and consequently the Companies service, as well heare as in Percia.' No limit is placed on their stay at Gombroon, but they are to return at the earliest possible moment. Should they make captures, any vessel suitable for use at Batavia should be reserved for that purpose; and the same with any 'negros or other blacks that shall fall into your hands', provided they do not belong to friendly nations. Precautions to be taken against pillage, and against anybody in the fleet presuming 'to culler under his owne name any passengers goods', in order to defraud the customs at Gombroon. Their 'consorteshipp with the Dutch' is referred 'unto your owne determinacions'. (*Copy*. 3 *pp*.)

President Kerridge and Council, aboard the *Blessing* at Swally, to Messrs. Purifie and Benthall in Persia, December 13, 1626 (*O.C.* 1245).

Intimating that from the arrival of the ship at Gombroon their wages will be augmented by 10*l*. for the first year, and an additional 10*l*. for the second, beyond the 10*l*. per annum increment granted by the Company. (*Copy, signed by Kerridge only*. ½ *p*.)

John Vian's Account of the Voyage of the *Discovery* from Surat to Gombroon and Back (*Marine Records*, vol. xliii. p. 20).

1626, *December* 11. The *Discovery* went out of Swally Hole. *December* 15. The whole fleet sailed. *December* 19. The *Christopher* parted company, bound for Batavia; also three Dutch ships for Europe. *December* 29. The *Discovery* took the *Wapen* in tow. 1627, *January* 2. Three of the Dutch lost company. *January* 5. Saw the Persian coast. *January* 14. The *Discovery* lost sight of the rest of the fleet, who went into Jask. *January* 16. She was

overtaken by the others, except the Dutch, who had remained at Jask. *January* 18. At night they got into Gombroon Road. *February* 1. Went over to Ormus for ballast. *February* 6. Returned to Gombroon. *February* 19. The fleet sailed for Surat. *March* 6. Saw Diu Head. *March* 9. Anchored off Swally Bar. *March* 10. Went into the port. *March* 13. The *Discovery* was ordered to Surat Bar to protect a junk belonging to the Governor of Surat, bound for the Red Sea. In weighing anchor, her boat was upset and four men were drowned. *March* 14. Anchored at Surat Bar, where she rode until the junk sailed (18th). *March* 19. Returned to Swally. ($8\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

David Davis's Account of the Same Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xliv. p. 28).

1626, *December* 10 *and* 11. Got passengers on board and went over the bar. *December* 15. Sailed. *December* 19. The *Christopher* and three Dutch ships quitted the fleet. 1627, *January* 1. Took the *Wapen* in tow. Three of the Dutch vessels lost company that night. *January* 5. Saw 'Cape Palmor'. [*Sketch.*] The tow-rope broke, and hurt four of the *Discovery's* men. *January* 13. Saw the three Hollanders again, standing off from Jask Road. [*Sketch of Cape Jask.*] *January* 16. The rest of the English came up, having landed Mr. Turner at Jask, who proceeded thence to Gombroon. The *Discovery* was then near Cape 'Cumbarque'. [*See* p. 49; *a sketch is given.*] *January* 18. Got into Gombroon Road. [*Sketch of the anchorage.*] *January* 30. Weighed anchor for Ormus. [*Sketch of Ormus.*[1]] *February* 18. Sailed from Gombroon at midnight, accompanied by five Dutch ships, two Persian frigates and the *Primrose*, also belonging to the Persians.[2] *February* 20. The Persians lost company at night. *March* 6. Saw Diu Head. *March* 9. Off Old Swally. *March* 10. Went into Swally Hole. *March* 11 *and* 12. Landed their passengers. *March* 13. The longboat was overset, and four men were drowned. Went down to Surat Bar. *March* 15. A junk of Cranganore brought news of two Portuguese ships and five frigates at Chaul. *March* 16. At night

[1] Reproduced in the *Geographical Journal* for August, 1894 (p. 160).

[2] She had been sold by Capt. Hall to the Khān of Shīrāz in 1623 (see the previous volume, pp. 339, 342, 344).

arrived the *Primrose*, 'wherin was the Lord Admirall of Persia,[1] going as imbassedor to the Greate Mogull, with many horsses for a present.' (13 *pp.*)

ANDREW WARDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xlv. p. 20).

1626, *December* 12. The *William* went out of Swally Hole. *December* 15. Sailed. 1627, *January* 15. Anchored near Jask and put a couple of merchants ashore to go to Gombroon. *January* 18. Reached Gombroon Road. *January* 25. Three Portuguese frigates anchored close to the town and landed their goods. *January* 27. It was decided to send three of the ships over to Ormus to fetch ballast for the fleet. *February* 19. Sailed. *March* 10. Got into Swally Hole. One of the Dutch ships ran ashore and had to be broken up. *March* 11. It was decided that the fleet should go to the southwards. *March* 13. The *Discovery* was sent to the river's mouth to secure two junks against the Malabar frigates. Four men drowned in fetching an anchor aboard. (8¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, DECEMBER 24, 1626 (*O.C.* 1246).

Had expected ere this to receive bills of exchange on 'Pelwan Suffeat' [Pahlawān Safīd] for the proceeds of his goods in Bangham's hands; begs the latter to consider the loss caused by the delay, and to sell off everything at such prices as he can get. Having dispatched all business at court, he is to proceed to Agra. Mr. Barber, departing four days since for Baroda, left behind some goods of Bangham's, which are now in Page's custody. Some other articles that arrived in the *Dolphin* Hopkinson has taken to Ahmadābād. Sends some loose papers received from Barber. (*Seal. Received February* 4. 1½ *pp.*)

RICHARD WYLDE AT SURAT TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 24 1626 (*O.C.* 1247).

Perceives from his letter from Lahore in October last that Bangham is annoyed at being reproved for remissness in sending advice. Protests that he was acting the part of a true friend, and

[1] Khairāt Khān, who is mentioned later as returning from his mission in 1628.

if his own brother had 'comitted these neglectes' he would have been still more severe. Mr. Page has accepted (though 'with much adoe') the bill of exchange drawn by Robert Tottle. Bangham has desired him to charge 400 rupees to the Company's account; but this he cannot do without further information. (*Seal. Received February* 4. 1 *p.*)

Robert Tottle at Samāna to the Same, December 28, 1626 (*O.C.* 1248).

As desired, he has procured for him a parcel of linens. Will send particulars later. Makes some small requests. (*Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Palsgrave* [at Jask] by William Burt, Christopher Brown, James Slade, John Johnson, and Thomas Waller, January 13 [15?], 1627 (*Factory Records*, *Persia*, vol. i. p. 204).

Their voyage has been much hindered by contrary winds and the behaviour of the Dutch, whose ship the *Wapen* has been towed by the *Discovery* since December 27. On January 3 the Dutch dispatched ahead the *Beer*, *Hollandia*, and *Mauritius*, probably with a view to snap up prizes for their own benefit. Two days later their admiral proposed that the fleet should go to Muskat; but this was refused, as it would 'frustrate us of our this yeares designes'. On the 12th the Dutch admiral's ship and the *Wapen* (which had broken loose from the *Discovery* during the night) were lost sight of, and the English went into Jask, where they found the other three Dutch ships. As the Governor of Jask reports that the Gulf is free from Portuguese, and there is no sign of the two missing Dutch vessels, it is decided to proceed to Gombroon. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

William Burt in Jask Road to the Factors in Persia, January 15, 1627 (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

They have doubtless heard from England of the dispatch of this fleet, viz. the *William*, *Blessing*, *Discovery*, and *Morris*, who sailed on April 16, 1626, and reached Johanna on July 29. Being there joined by the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*, they proceeded to Surat,

arriving on October 3. They sailed again on December 15 for Persia, accompanied by five Dutch ships, of which two are old, leaky, and unserviceable. The Dutch dishonestly induced the English to tow one of these 'sluggs', 'whilst they dispatched three of theire best saylors to range the coaste for purchasse [prize-taking] or to gaine the port beefore us'. Lost sight of the two remaining Hollanders on the 11th, and three days later got into Jask, where they found the former three. These had anchored two days at 'Cape Mombarrique' [*see* p. 49], whence probably they sent news to their friends at Gombroon. There has been a rumour of their undertaking some enterprise in concert with the Persians; but if they have promised to do so, it is more than they have ability to perform with their present forces; 'soe that if you finde any advantage possible to bee taken (by theire unpreparednes) one the beehalfe of our honorable imployers, you maye bee pleased to sollicite itt with all speedye industrye and carefull dilligence'. The Company have in their letters given 'large encouragement . . . to omitt noe opportunitye in a valuable attempt which maye occurr to theire present and future benefitts;' but at the same time they are not to engage in any risky enterprise and, 'in respect of the present occasions of shipping, both for Europe and the southwards, it is conceaved it must bee an importante designe that shall induce the staye of the fleete in any exployte there'. Sends an abstract of the Company's letters, as he dares not trust the originals to the present conveyance. As the *Dolphin* is to return to England from Surat this season, she must be dispatched from Gombroon as speedily as possible; so any goods at that place should be got ready for early lading. Heard rumours at Surat that six Portuguese galleons had gone to Persia; 'wee are prepared for theire encounter, if soe it happen, and question not (by the Lords permission) butt wee shall both revenge and abate theire tiranous insolencye'. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

ROBERT TOTTLE AT SAMĀNA TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, JANUARY 24, 1627 (*O.C.* 1249).

Has received his letter of the 8th, with the carpets for Captain Kerridge. Transmits letters received from Surat via Agra. On arrival at 'Sinond' [Sirhind] will make over to Bangham what

money he has in hand. Thanks him for the knives. Has not yet recovered the stolen cloth. *P.S.*—Purposes on Tuesday 'to macke couch'.[1] Prices of cloth bought for Kerridge. (*Seal. Damaged. Received February* 4. 1 *p.*)

Joseph Hopkinson at Ahmadābād to John Bangham at Court, February 1, 1627 (*O.C.* 1252).

On January 29 received his letter of November 21. Regrets to learn the trouble he has had from the crossness of his business, the treachery of his broker, want of assistance, and long and dangerous travels. He will, however, be relieved before long, for Hopkinson understands that the President intends 'wholly to dissolve that tedious court attendance', and to send up Clement, who will start for Agra in about a month. Offley is then to come down. Whether Clement is to take precedence of Bangham or not, Hopkinson does not know. Ralph Cartwright accompanies him. Offley's proceedings are so hardly thought of that he will have need of a very sound and substantial apology for himself on arrival. Refers to letters previously sent him. It seems that Asaf Khān, 'like a falce villain, is still desirous of more tofa' [*see* p. 114], but unless his dealings and prices give better encouragement he is not likely to see any more. Hopkinson has all that arrived in the last ships; he hopes to sell at least part, and the rest Clement may perhaps carry to Agra. Begs him to get an account from Goodwin of Hopkinson's goods and take the remains into his custody. Still has the things sent out by Bangham's brother. Will forward the unsold portion by Clement. Had thought to entrust them to Emanuel de Paiva, who left fifteen or sixteen days back, but did not do so because he was going straight to Lahore, and Hopkinson thought that Bangham would probably be at Agra. Forwards some letters for De Paiva, and sends commendations to him, the Padre, Signors Eduardo, Sebastian, and Rodrigo. 'There was a great deale of love amongst us when they were here, and I never found De Paiva other then an honest man.' *P.S.*—A rupee to be given to the bearer. (*Seal. Received March* 4. 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] Take his departure (Hind. *kūch*, a march or journey).

Fragment of John Bangham's Account Book at Court, February 5–12, 1627 (*Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 34).

Journalized entries of sundry transactions, including gold lace returned by Nawāb Mahābat Khān, presents 'to the Kings Secretary for writing the Kings firmaune' (2 knives and 2 swordblades, worth in all Rs. 20) and to various other persons, Bangham's own wages, payments to peons, &c. (1 *p.*)

President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, and George Page at Surat to John Bangham at Lahore, February 6, 1627 (*O.C.* 1250).

In answer to his letter of November 30, with postscript of December 9, received on January 20. 'We observe your access to the Kinge and his principall officers, [and] the deliverie of our letters to Hackeeme Mussehelzeman[1] and Aganoore [Aghā Nūr]. The first was only gratulatorie; and the latter hath in effect been answered by Aganoore unto Allee Rezake [Alī Razzāq], who shewed it us; which was to shorten Seed Allee Cazees[2] arme from reaching unto ought concerned him. Soe it seemes he wilbe dilligent enough in his owne business. The Kings displeasure against Mahobett Chan, and his coming from the court, hath been heere manyfested long since; which moste men beleeves will not continew, he haveing been his ancient and indeed moste faithfull servant, and is at present in Guzeratt, about Nagar Jaloure,[3] with a good force of resolute Rasbootes [Rājpūts]; yet attempted not Ratanpoore Castle[4] or any other place, but lives very peaceably, though hath (it seemes) exchanged some letters with Sultan Charome, who will not trust him, for upon the first bruite of his approach into these parts Chorome was in great feare and fitted himselfe to have fled farther into Decan (whether he is returned

[1] Hakīm Masīh-al-Zamān, for whom see a note on p. 273 of the previous volume.

[2] Saiyid Alī the Qāzī.

[3] The celebrated hill fortress of Jālor, in Mārwār

[4] This seems to be a perversion of a story given by De Laet to the effect that Mīrzā 'Beyrewer' [Bahrawar ?], third son of Mahābat Khān, being dispatched by his father on a military expedition, endeavoured to possess himself of the castle of Ranthambhor, where his father's treasures were deposited, but was foiled by the fidelity of the commandant.

from Tutta), and had doubtless effected it, if Mahobett Chan had advanced towards him; whereby it is conceaved the Kings displeasure is not soe asper but that his easie nature will soone be reconcyled, though Mahobett Chan his enemyes have prevayled in the execucion and disgrace of his freinds. Sheryares great advancement is the thing indeed that extenuates the hope of Charomes wellwillers, who upon the death of Parveis generally declared their affeccion by sending him presents and peticions offring their service, in assurance of his suddaine advancement, which is not nowe likelie, that potent Queens intrest being greater in her owne issue then her brothers, either of whome in the end will proove fatall unto the other.' Regret that the Company are still losers by these contentions, and trust that this will be a warning to Bangham to get money quickly for all he sells. 'Mahobett Chan hath been ever held generous, and in tyme of his disgrace would soonest have given satisfaccion for the gold lace or returned it, had you gone to him, which you might safflie have done, if you had preacquainted Assaph Chan with the cause.' He must now send a petition for payment 'to his tavildare [Hind. *tahvīldār*, a cashier] or whom elce you delivered the same'. They accept his excuses for not writing oftener, knowing well the delays and 'tedious solicitings of that court, which seeing it produceth not proffitt on the comodities we send nor benefitt otherwise to beare soe great a charge and trouble we must remoove the occasion by withholding supplies from thence, seeing the Company alsoe maye imploye their meanes in other goods or send ready monye insteed of jewells and fine wares, which (loss of time and expences considered) doth lose of its prime cost; and our just suites alsoe finde soe colde and uncertaine releefe that our masters were better omitt what is past then thus fruitlesslye continue to solicitt restitucion; and if greevances happen heere, we finde it best to reconcile them ourselves by yealding in some measure to the demaunds, for when we persist, in expectance of redress by the Kings justice, his firmaens yealds it not, being onlye a glorious shew, without other effect then the Governours verball observance'. Note Mīr Mūsā's return of two broadcloths, and Muqarrab Khān's dealing in the same kind. 'Assaph Chan is nigard enough, and makes more use of us then any man elce; yet feeds you, as he hath done others heeretofore, with words only.'

They hope that Bangham has made an end both with him and the Queen for all the gold lace and satins, which will be the last sent, if the Company will be advised by them. Note that Bangham has refused a bill for 5,000 rupees drawn on him by Offley. What the latter has done with his money they do not know, for though two qāfilas have come down with saltpetre and a few other goods they have received no invoices from him; but possibly he will bring them down himself with the third caravan, which is expected shortly. Indigo has risen so much in price that they were glad to learn of Tottle's investment at Samāna, although it is against the Company's orders; they are anxious to hear of its dispeed from Agra, as Offley thought it would not be received in time. 'You rightlie observe the perwannas procured from Mahobett Chan are of noe force; and except Assaph Chan shew better effects of love then he hath done, his wilbe to as little purpose; whose injustice forced from us as well the 4,000 rup[ees] restored to Mafuz as the 10,000 most wrongfullye extorted by the Sinde men. He will perhaps be ready in that of Herpaxad his sonne, who being poore can pay nothing; yet must it be endeavoured.' Jādū has played the villain in all. If money cannot be got from him, bills should be taken; he should then be discarded and sued. 'We like well the vend of your cloth into the Queens cercare, though at soe base a price as rup[ees] 6 the covedo.' 'The base esteeme and slowe vend causeth us repent to have landed any cloth, proveing worse in goodness alsoe then any heeretofore; soe that we are not yet resolved whether to send any up or shipp it next yeare for Persia. You have done very ill if you have acquainted Assaph Chan with our jewells or ought elce, seing you knew our purpose longe since to disolve that residence. The jewells we have sent at Mr. Hopkinsons instance to Amadavad, and hartely wish they maye there finde proffitable vend; it being better for the Company and the other propriators to sell heere 30 per cento cheaper then at the court, seeing the Kinge (as you write) goeth for Cashmeere, and two yeares wilbe expired ere the proceed can be converted to there use, which with hazard and expence will equall the difference mencioned. Besides, Assaph Chan doth continually abase our masters in price of their jewells, who haveing seene them, none elce dares buy what he likes; the remembrance whereof hath induced

us inorder Mr. Hopkinson to accept of 10 per cento proffitt, if noe more can be obtayned.' They are trying to sell some satins to 'the late Governor and yet Divan'. Cannot supply lawns, cambrics, and other Europe linens, nor will they write for any, as those formerly brought were sold to Asaf Khān for a quarter their prime cost. Will send up the commodities from England which Bangham considers likely to sell, but this is not to delay his winding up the business at court and departing to Agra. The goods shall be forwarded to that city and Bangham can take them to the court after the King's return from Kashmīr. 'Concerning the house at Agra we perceave your opinion and what you endeavoured by a perwanna to the Governor, the effect whereof was nothing, though received before the house was bought, whereto we beleeve constraint induced Mr. Offleys consent; which we still thinke he had better avoyded by leaving it, and though we are doubtfull noe neighboure will give 1,000 rup[ees] more, yet would the monnye then have been invested in indigoe to more proffitt then the like some and halfe soe much more hath since been; soe that though his affirmacion be truth, yet is it a very deare penyworth; and our masters, being strangers, desire not to lay out their monnye in houses where they can not dispose of them when they would. Besides, we doupt the convayance of the Kings houses will scarce be found warrantable in another Kings raigne, if in this it be not questioned by a new Governor; neither doe we know what acknowledgment he hath that it is absolutely bought for ever, verely beleeveing, if the sale be not confermed by the Kings firmaen, the molestacion of future Governors will cost more in its defence then soe good a house may be rented at as would serve their worthyest servants; wherein alsoe their trade (which is not augmented but deminnished by vayneglorie and unnecessarie disburcements) would finde less disparagment then it hath done by sondry troubles (though bribes hath often been given) in the keeping of this, which the Kinge gave unto the English for their residence, who have spent above 2,000 rup[ees] in its reparacion. But all these reasons serving now to little purpose, we will attend coppie of the conveighance and your opinion of its sufficiencye before we endeavor either sale or surrender. Itt is not to be doubted the Dutch doe give us all the molestacion they can, whose industrie in their affaires

generally exceeds ours and doth require all mens best abilleties to prevent them. Vapore[1] his affirmacion to the Venetians we shall bring noe more cloves is not unlikelye, and what our people are able to doe therein at southwards we are incertaine.' Censure his omission to furnish Surat, as well as Agra, with copies of his accounts. The Agra factors are as backward, for they have sent no accounts for two years—an insufferable neglect, considering that those of all other factories are entered in the Surat books, which, balanced up to last September, are about to be sent home. In future all factories must give account direct to Surat without depending on subordinates, that no man may excuse himself by the default of others. He must be careful to send his journal, with particulars of petty charges, as otherwise the Company will not be able to proportion Sir Francis Crane's share of his expenses. Urge him to sell off his 'Bulgare hides' and other goods at a low price rather than lose time. Cannot understand why he did not sell Abbot's emeralds at the best price he could get; this should be done and advice sent speedily to Surat. Thank him for the information as to current prices. Have sold all their coral, quicksilver, elephants' teeth, and 10,000 maunds of their lead. If they cannot dispose of their amber beads they may send them to Agra. Prices of spikenard and lac. 'We pray you take knowledge that Pellewan Saphed, Cojah Abullasan his shekdare[2] of Urpale [*see* p. 28] hath required us to paye him custome of the goods we this yeare shipt for the southwards and Persia, alleaging the port of Swallye to belong unto his pregona [*pargana*, or district], and may in truth with as much reason demaund custome for all our goods laden and discharged on Swally sands, which hetherto (you know) hath been paide at the custome house of Surratt. He sayeth moreover that whatsoever of our goods for all parts that commeth not from Surratt shall paye its custome at Raneale [Rānder]; which is not greatlye materiall unto us, provided we pay it but once, as heeretofore, nor will we be averse if his master inorder it and give us assurance it shall not be required elcewhere; which is doubtfull.

[1] Hendrick Arentsz. Vapour, the Dutch Agent at Agra. He had been sent thither in March, 1625, with a cassowary for presentation to Jahāngīr (Van den Broeck's *Voyagie*, p. 105).

[2] Hind. *shiqdār*, an officer appointed to collect the revenue of a district.

seeing the Kings Customer will oppose it, and alleageth this change of custome to be prejudiciall to the Kinge and that he hath noe order to give waye thereto, though Pellowan Saphed hath advice, it seemes, from his master to doe it; with whom doe you conferr and know his distinct meaning and pleasure in the premises, which without the Kings graunt by firmaen unto him will be effected with difficultie. Doe you farther certefie him that it pleased him last yeare, at instance of Mr. Young, to procure the Kings firmaen in the behaulf of our nations good usage and restoracion to freedome of trade in this kingdome, with other priviledges, mongst which is a prohibicion of rahdarees [1] on our goods; but little effectuall it seemes, for though we have shewed the same in all places, our caphila this yeare from Agra, being only saltpeeter and some shuger, hath been forced to pay at severall places on the way from Agra above 2,500 rup[ees]; and in Bahdore,[2] within 10 course of Daytah [Dhāita], was paide rup[ees] 357½ unto the servants of Jadoray [Jādū Rāy], latelie revolted from Nizam Shaw, King of Decan; and at Daytah rup[ees] 443½, notwithstanding the Surratt Governors letter unto the officers there, being servants unto Byram Shaw,[3] Raja of Molher; which are most unreasonable exactions. The like cause we have alsoe to complaine of the Decies [4] of Surrat Cercare,[5] who will not obey the Kings firmaen, though the Divan, Merja Hassan, seemeth to urge them; for at Quirka, but 19 course hence, they detayne 230 camells lading, being the last caphila, for custome of it and the former, demaunding rahdaree in Quirka, Byara,[6] and Balore,[7] though all three are not five course distant from each other. And at Barnolee,[8] 12 course hence, Mirmoosa his jaguire, his servants detaine a camell lading of our first caphilaes goods for rahdaree. But the villayne that most vexeth us is one

[1] Hind. *rāhdārī*, a toll levied for the cost of guarding a road.

[2] Bhadwar, between Nandurbār and Dhāita.

[3] Bhairām Shāh, the successor of Partab Shāh as the ruler of Bāglān, a small state through which the Surat-Burhānpur road passed (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xvi. p. 403). Mulher, near Jaitāpur, was his chief town.

[4] Mahr. *desāī*, an official in charge of a district.

[5] Hind. *sarkār*, here meaning a revenue division.

[6] For these two places see p. 28.

[7] Tavernier speaks of 'Balor' as being 10 *kos* east of Bardoli and 5 *kos* west of 'Kerkoa'. It does not appear on the Indian Atlas sheet of the district.

[8] Bardoli, about 18 miles east of Surat.

Shaum [Shyām], Decie of Querka, that laughes both at us and the firmaen, keeping the camells as aforesaide; for whom if possible procure some penall punnishment for example, and express order for restitucion from all the rest, with some more effectual provision in this particular for future times. Otherwise we will bribe noe more to have the Kings firmaens.' (7 *pp.* *Received April* 1.)

ROBERT TOTTLE AT 'SANNOND' [SIRHIND] TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, FEBRUARY 6, 1627 (*O.C.* 1251).

Refers to his former letter. Matters of account. Thanks him for his kind lines, and wishes it were his fortune to remain with him as mentioned in the Council's letter. (*Seal. Endorsed as received on the* 12*th and answered on the* 25*th.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT TOTTLE AT 'FREDDHAVZ'[1] TO JOHN BANGHAM AT LAHORE, FEBRUARY 18, 1627 (*O.C.* 1253).

Announced in his last his departure from 'Sanonnd'. Matters of account. 'The waies are verry dangerous, which caused me to macke two mockcomes [*maqām*, a halt] in Dille [Delhi].' (1 *p.*)

JOHN VIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *DISCOVERY* FROM SURAT TO BATAVIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xliii. p. 28).

1627, *March* 31. Sailed, in company with the *William*, *Blessing*, *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Morris*. *April* 3. Saw 'the hill that is in Bumbay'. *April* 7. Looked into Goa Road, but found no ships there. The Dutch fleet from Surat joined. *April* 10. Took a small Malabar vessel with fifteen men in her. She was cut adrift, and the crew carried to Batavia. *April* 15. The *Morris* departed for Masulipatam. The same night the Dutch parted company. *May* 13. Saw one of the islands of 'Nimtam'. *May* 21. Passed Engano. *May* 28. Anchored in Batavia Road. The Dutch fleet from Surat had arrived a day earlier. The *Palsgrave* did not get in until June 4. (8 *pp.*)

DAVID DAVIS'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xliv. p. 41).

1627, *March* 31. The fleet sailed. *April* 15. The *Morris* parted company. *May* 13. Saw land, which they made out to be one of

[1] Farīdābād, 16½ miles south of Delhi, on the road to Agra.

the 'Nasawe' or 'Tycowe' Islands [*see the previous volume*, p. 1]. *May* 21. Sighted 'Augania'. *May* 25. In the Straits of Sunda were overtaken by the *Mauritius* from Surat. *May* 27. Two more Hollanders passed them. *May* 28. Anchored off Batavia, and found there the *Christopher* and the *Exchange*, twenty-four Dutch ships, and eight Chinese junks. The *Eagle*, *Simon and Jude*, and *Falcon* came in within two days after. *June* 2. The *Prins van Holland* and a small Dutch ship arrived. *June* 4. The *Palsgrave* came in. *June* 6. The *Maagd van Dort* and *Wesp* anchored in the road. (8 *pp.*)

Andrew Warden's Account of the Same Voyage (*Marine Records*, vol. xlv. p. 29).

1627, *March* 28. The *William* went over the bar. *March* 31. The fleet sailed. *April* 16. The *Morris* departed for Masulipatam. *April* 30. Crossed the Line. *May* 13. Saw an island. *May* 21. Passed Engano. *May* 27. Anchored at Batavia. (9½ *pp.*)

John Vian's Account of the Voyage of the *Discovery* from Batavia to Surat (*Ibid.*, vol. xliii. p. 36).

1627, *June* 18. Sailed, in company with the *William*, *Palsgrave*, *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Dolphin*. *June* 21. Got clear of the Straits of Sunda. *July* 22. Saw the southern end of Madagascar. *July* 28. Anchored in the Bay of St. Augustine. The *Exchange* failed to get in, and was carried to Mohilla. *August* 1. The fleet sailed. *August* 9. The *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin* got into Mohilla. *August* 10. The *William*, *Blessing*, and *Discovery* anchored at Johanna. *August* 20. The three ships sailed for Mohilla. *August* 24. Arrived there. *August* 28. The now reunited fleet sailed for Surat. *September* 28. Saw the coast of India near St. John's. *October* 1. Anchored off Swally Bar. *October* 4. Went down to Surat Bar by the President's order. *October* 10. Recalled. *October* 11. Went into Swally Hole. *October* 27. The Dutch fleet arrived from Batavia. *November* 29. Captain Hall's fleet, consisting of the *Mary Royal*, *Hart*, *Star*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge*, came in. *December* 6. A Dutch ship sailed for Holland. *December* 9. The rest of the Dutch fleet departed for Gombroon.

December 18. The *William, Exchange, Hart*, and *Star* followed them. *December* 20. The *Discovery* finished lading for England. (14½ *pp*.)

DAVID DAVIS'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xliv. p. 49).

1627, *June* 18. Set sail. *July* 22. They were off the south-west part of Madagascar. *July* 28. Reached St. Augustine's. *August* 1. Sailed again. *August* 9. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 10. The *William* and *Blessing* got into the road. *August* 20. Sailed. *August* 24. Anchored at Mohilla. *August* 28. Departed. *September* 29. Sighted the Indian coast. *October* 1. Reached Swally. *October* 2. Five runaways came aboard the *Palsgrave*; they had been with the Portuguese. *October* 3. The President breakfasted in the *Palsgrave*, dined in the *Exchange*, and spent the night in the *William*. Each ship welcomed him with nine guns. *October* 4. He dined in the *Blessing*, and afterwards visited the *Discovery*. The same day the last-named went to the Bar of Surat, 'to stopp their jounk from comming in, because there was some controversie betweene our President and the Governor for the customes.' *October* 6. Seventy Portuguese frigates from Cambay passed by. *October* 7. A Surat junk returning from 'Sinde' brought intelligence that Ruy Freire had started from Muskat with all the soldiers he could muster to take some place in the Persian Gulf. *October* 9. The Dutch President visited the English ships, and was saluted with seven guns. An order came from Captain Blyth to release the junk. *October* 10. The *Discovery* was recalled to Swally. *October* 19. The President and the Governor of Cambay came aboard the ships, and were received with much ceremony. *October* 27. A Dutch fleet arrived. *November* 4. Saw the Portuguese frigates bound for Cambay pass by. *November* 29. News came that the *Discovery* was to go home instead of to Persia. *November* 30. The *Palsgrave* was on fire twice. Captain Hall's fleet arrived. *December* 2. 'While the President was at dinner aboord the *William*, with all the commanders, newes was brought that the Moguls eldest sonn [1] was slaine by his uncle, the Mogul

[1] This seems to be a confused reference to the defeat of Shahriyār by the forces

his brother, and that this rebell was comming downe to Suratt; whereuppon the President rose from dinner and went forthwith to Suratt.' *December* 5. 'I went out of the *Discovery* into the *Hart*.' (14 *pp*.)

ANDREW WARDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE IN THE *WILLIAM* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlv. p. 38).

1627, *June* 18. The fleet sailed for the Comoros to meet the ships expected from England, and convoy them to India. *July* 23. Rounded the southern end of Madagascar. *July* 28. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay, where they purchased plenty of cattle for a few beads. *August* 1. Sailed. *August* 10. Arrived at Johanna. *August* 20. Sailed to Mohilla to pick up the other three ships. *August* 28. The whole fleet departed for India, having failed to get news of the ships from England. *September* 29. Saw the coast of India. *October* 1. Anchored near Swally. *October* 11. Went into the Hole. (16½ *pp*.)

PRESIDENT HAWLEY AND COUNCIL AT BATAVIA TO THE COMPANY, JULY 18, 1627 (*O.C.* 1256).

Arrival of the *Christopher* from Surat with stores, Indian goods, and 26,136 rials. . . . Trust that in future the Company will enlarge their consignment to Surat by at least 100,000 rials, to be invested in Indian commodities for transport to 'this southerne Presidency'. Also that one ship will be sent direct to Masulipatam from England, carrying gold rather than rials, and also lead, alum, quicksilver, brimstone, and some broadcloths, kerseys, and perpetuanoes—'most stammetts [reds]; some poppingay greene; blew cloth but watchett [pale blue] and azurs; and orring. These cappitall cullers ar for garments, for saddles, and to cover pallankiens; therfore we suppose light kersies more fitt then broad cloth. Meane cloth is also used for servitors coats; only red and no other culler; no sad culler respected, especially black. If in that factory two hundreth thousand rials of eight yearly invested, it will in a resonnable manner mainetaine charges; but rather more then less, for your peper trade will require that proporcion, and if you

of Āsaf Khān. The 'rebell' is of course Shāh Jahān. For the President's visit to the camp of the latter see p. 205.

resettle in Mulloqes, Amboyna, Banda, those parts vend much cloth; and if you expect saltpeeter, cotten yerne, and cloth from Mussula[patam] for England (as in reson you ought), 200,000 rials is the least that yearly in those factories must be invested.' The ship for Masulipatam should arrive there in September or October, and stay till December or January. If the Surat Presidency can supply Batavia as aforesaid, the latter in turn can respond with commodities for India, 'happely for a greater vallue.' It will be better to send ships home from Batavia rather than straight from Masulipatam. Each year a vessel must be sent to the latter place from the former in March or April, departing again in September. The following goods are suitable both for Surat and Masulipatam: cloves, nutmegs, and mace; sandalwood; turtle shells; copper (from Japan; great quantities vended); China roots and China alum (the latter is supposed to be much worse than English); tin of 'Pera [Perak], under the King of Acheine'; brimstone from Achin (supposed to be far worse than English); gold of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and Pegu. These will all yield two for one and many three for one, or more. A sum of 300,000 rials invested in India would produce at Batavia, within six months of arrival, at least 600,000 rials for investment in pepper and the goods already mentioned. 'In gould, which is to be gathered in every place of Java, Sumatra, Burnew, and Pegu, much proffit wilbe raised coming upon the Coast of Cormondell, where only gould doth pass in payments, especially unto those weavers for commodeties, being easily hidden and concealed from their governours; and therfore in silver is great loss, the riall hardly yealding 4*s.* 6*d.*, most commonly less, for it is only as merchandize to carry to Pegu, where in change for gould it will pass at 7*s.*, and at that price purchaseth gould to mak great proffitt on the Coast of Cormondell.' July is the fittest season to send from Batavia to Surat. . . . Arrival from Surat on May 27 of the *William*, *Blessing*, and *Discovery*, followed on June 4 by the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*. They spent last season in the Persian Gulf without encountering any enemy. Their coming hither was only 'for a winterring repose' and to bring a few goods. Enclose copies of Kerridge's letter and of the commander's commission. The time taken in reaching Batavia frustrated the ships' first design for Mozambique, and obliged them

to aim at intercepting the next Portuguese fleet between that place and Goa. For this purpose the *Exchange*, under Captain Morton, was added to the fleet; and all six vessels sailed together on June 19. . . . 'The Dutch prepare six ships and a pinnas[1] for Surat, ould Willim Johnson comaunder; on Friday night, as we here, they take their leave.' . . . (*Extracts only.* 5½ *pp.*)

William Gibson at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, September 9, 1627 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 491).

Begs them to render any assistance in their power to the bearer, a poor Portuguese merchant. The latter, having a small vessel of his own in this port bound for India, undertook to convey a letter of Gibson's, enclosing one received from the Ispahān factors; but the night before his departure two Portuguese frigates came in and seized his vessel, and in the scuffle a desk containing the letters was thrown overboard. Has no copy of the Ispahān letter, but the main points were that the goods received there had been made over to the King, though the latter was much offended at no money being sent this year, and insists that in future one-fourth part shall be brought in cash; that the Dutch have effected nothing; that Mr. Burt has been promised satisfaction in the matter of the customs; and that an accountant is much needed at Ispahān. Has been, and still is, in bad health. A young man, named Charles Sterne, who came from Ispahān to assist him, died after about a month's illness. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.* *Received January* 14, 1628.)

Richard Bix, George Muschamp, and Richard Steel at Batavia to the Company, October 28, 1627 (*O.C.* 1258).

. . . Arrival of the *Morris* from Masulipatam on October 14 under Thomas Waller, with a good cargo. . . . The *Abigail*, under Eustace Man, is at that port, where she has been new trimmed,

[1] *Groot Mauritius, Dordrecht, Nord Holland, Mauritius, Guldene Zeepaard, Bommel, Wesp*, and pinnace *Nieuwigheid*—eight in all (cf. p. 200). They were under the command of Willem Janszoon, of the Council of India and ex-Governor of the Bandas (*Dagh-Register*, 1624–29, p. 326).

and will bring a cargo from thence and from Armagon. Thomas Mills is expected to come in her; he was to have embarked in the *Morris*, but was too ill. . . . (*Extracts only*. ½ *p*.)

Gregory Clement at 'Can°'[1] to John Bangham, &c., at Agra, October 29, 1627 (*O.C.* 1259).

Has received the money, but has not yet counted it. Clitherow, who had it in charge, has failed in this as in all other business committed to him. After quitting the English house, he left the money to the care of two or three peons, and ran himself to the [Dutch ?] house, where he drank so much that they were fain to lend him their coach to carry him out of the town. Then taking horse, he rode the poor creature so hard that it dropped dead near 'Mondacker'.[2] Clement has resolved that in future he shall not be entrusted with anything that concerns the Company's affairs. Requests that they will get in all money owing, as he intends to draw upon them for about 4,000 rupees. Goodwin, who is to depart presently with the coach, will give them all the news. Clitherow shall be sent back to Agra on arrival here. Commendations to Mr. Cartwright. *P.S.*—The coach should be returned as soon as possible, with some candles and rack. (*Damaged*. 2 *pp*.)

The Voyage of Captain Hall's fleet to Surat, by John Pashley, Master of the *Hart* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlviii. p. 1).[3]

1627, *March* 2. The *Hart* sailed from Gravesend. *March* 5. The fleet anchored in the Downs, except the *Star*, which came in next day. *March* 16. The Persian ambassador [Naqd Alī Beg] embarked in the *Hart*. *March* 22. Sailed; and anchored in Dover Road. *March* 23. The fleet set sail again. *March* 26. Lost sight of the Lizard. *April* 4. Porto Santo seen. *April* 7. Passed through the Canary Islands. *May* 1. Crossed the Line. *May* 25. Sighted a carrack, with another vessel in company. *May* 26. Chased them, but they escaped at night. *June* 13. Lost sight

[1] This abbreviation is an enigma, but the place it represents cannot have been far from Agra, as the letter is endorsed as received the same day. Apparently Clement had gone to the indigo-producing district round Biāna.

[2] Probably Midhakur, a village ten miles from Agra, on the road to Fatehpur Sīkrī.

[3] See also Herbert's account of the voyage. He was on board the *Star*.

of the rest of the fleet in a storm. *June* 15. Overtook the *Star*. *June* 16. The *Refuge* joined them. *July* 7. Saw the African coast. The *Mary* and *Hopewell* joined them. Anchored at Coney [Dassen] Island, and got some refreshment. *July* 10. Sailed again, and at night got into Table Bay, where they found General Coen with five Dutch ships bound for Batavia. *July* 11. Pitched a tent ashore and landed the sick men. *July* 12. General Coen's ship sailed, together with two others; 'in one of them was the Percyan imbasador which went for Holland [*see* p. 88], and in the other shipp was the Percyan merchant.' *July* 19. Six men transferred from the *Hart* to the *Hopewell* and four to the *Scout*. *July* 20. The fleet sailed. *July* 24. Saw Cape Agulhas. *August* 1. At daybreak the *Hopewell*, *Refuge*, and *Scout* were out of sight. The other three stood on their course. *August* 23. Saw two islands. *August* 26. Found themselves close to the coast of Mozambique. Passed the 'Angozas' [Angoches]. *September* 7. After experiencing much trouble from shoals and currents, they sighted Mayotta, one of the Comoros Islands. *September* 9. Spoke two Dutch ships bound for the Coromandel Coast. *September* 11. The *Mary* and the *Hart* anchored at Mohilla, where they found the *Hopewell* and the *Refuge*. *September* 13. The King delivered to Captain Hall a letter left with him by the *Palsgrave's* fleet, which had departed August 28. *September* 15. The *Star* came in sight. *September* 16. The fleet sailed. *September* 24. Crossed the Line. *October* 3. Bartholomew Goodall, captain of the *Hart*, died of a fever, after an illness of three or four days. *October* 11. In accordance with the Company's orders, Andrew Evans succeeded to the command of the *Hart*. Thereupon Richard Malim[1] was elected master of the *Star*, and John Pashley of the *Hopewell*. *October* 13. These changes were duly made. *November* 21. The admiral's boats attacked a Portuguese frigate, but were beaten off with a loss of one man killed and 13 or 14 'wounded and skalded with pouder pots they hove into their boates'. *November* 22. The boats of the fleet chased the frigate. Some of them came up with her, but could not take her, and so returned next day with 'many dangerously wounded and one or two slaine'. *November* 25. Saw the Indian coast. *Novem-*

[1] 'He also died shortly after, a seaman as wise and valiant as any other' (Herbert, p. 30). Apparently his death took place at Surat (see p. 216).

ber [30]. Went into Swally Hole, where they found six English and six Dutch ships, with a pinnace. (44 *pp.*)

EDWARD AUSTIN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Marine Records*, vol. xlvii. p. 1).

1627, *March* 2. Left Gravesend. *March* 22. Sailed from the Downs. *March* 26. Lost sight of the Lizard. *April* 4. Saw Porto Santo. *April* 6. Made Teneriffe. *May* 25. Saw two sails. The admiral gave chase with his boats and made them out to be a carrack and her pinnace. *May* 26. Sighted them again, but lost them at night. *June* 13. The *Hart* lost company with the rest in a storm. *July* 7. Anchored at Coney Island. Sent a boat ashore, which returned with some conies and geese. *July* 10. Anchored in Table Bay, finding there five Dutch ships with 'Generall Coomes' [Coen] and his wife. *July* 12. Three of the Dutch ships departed for Batavia. *July* 20. Sailed. *August* 1. The *Hopewell*, *Refuge*, and *Scout* [lost company]. *August* 23. Sighted the 'Primeraes' [the Primeiras]. *August* 26. Passed four small islands called the 'Angasees'. *September* 10. Anchored at Mohilla. *September* 16. The whole fleet sailed, with the exception of the *Scout*, still missing. *November* 22. Two boats chased a frigate but lost her. *November* 25. Reached the Indian coast. *November* 30. Went into Swally Hole. Found there the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *William*, *Blessing*, *Discovery*, and *Exchange*, besides seven Dutch ships. (32 *pp.*)

AN ACCOUNT BY ABRAHAM SAYERS OF THE SAME VOYAGE IN THE *HOPEWELL* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlvi. p. 1).

1627, *February* 24. Sailed from Gravesend. *March* 22. Quitted the Downs. *March* 26. Lost sight of the Lizard. *April* 4. Saw Porto Santo. *July* 7. Saw the land to the north of Coney Island. *July* 10. Anchored in Table Bay. *July* 20. Sailed again. *August* 23. The *Hopewell*, *Scout*, and *Refuge*, having lost the rest of the fleet, anchored at the Primrose Islands. *August* 25. Sailed for the rendezvous at Mohilla. *September* 9. The *Hopewell* and the *Refuge* (the *Scout* having parted company) reached Mohilla. *September* 10. The *Mary* and the *Hart* came in, while the *Star* rode on the west side of the island. *September* 16. The fleet sailed. *November* 21.

[1] Master's mate in the *Hart*.

The admiral's boat attacked a frigate, but was beaten off with the loss of one man killed and several wounded. *November* 22. The ships' boats chased the frigate but she got away. *November* 25. Made the Indian coast near 'Zant John'. [*Sketch.*] *November* 30. Reached Swally Road. ($32\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY PETER ANDREWS [1] (*Marine Records*, vol. xlix. p. 1).

1627, *July* 20. The fleet sailed from Table Bay. *July* 31. The *Hopewell*, *Refuge*, and *Scout* lost company. *August* 23. Saw the 'Primeroes'. *August* 26. Were close to 'the Angosses'. *September* 9. Spoke two Dutch ships bound for the Coast of Coromandel. *September* 11. Anchored at Mohilla, and found there the *Hopewell* and *Refuge*. *September* 16. Sailed. *November* 21. The *Mary's* boats attacked a frigate, but were repulsed with one man killed and three hurt. *November* 22. Another unsuccessful attack was made, resulting in the death of one man and injuries to many others. *November* 25. Saw the coast of India. Took a fishing boat belonging to 'Tanay' [Thāna?]. *November* 28. Off Damān. *November* 29. Anchored near Swally. Captain Brown (of the *William*), Captain Morton (of the *Exchange*), and Mr. Wills (master of the *Dolphin*) came on board. 'The newes they towld us was that they were at Bombaye and that they had taken it . . . that this daye the *Pallsgrave* was afyer, having much adoe to quenche it; yett (God bee praised) shee had but little hurt done.' *November* 30. Anchored in the Road, where they found six English ships, seven Dutch with a little pinnace, and the *Primrose* 'of the Percians'. *December* 27 [*sic*]. The *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star* sailed for Persia. (18 *pp.*)

FRANCIS STOCKTON, PURSER OF THE *ROYAL EXCHANGE*, AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 17, 1627 (*O.C.* 1262).

Was appointed purser on September 19, in place of Richard King, who died the previous day. Transmits by the *Discovery* a number of accounts and copies of wills. Their provisions have proved very bad; at least a third of the biscuit thrown overboard. The fleet from England, consisting of the *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*,

[1] He went out as a master's mate in the *Mary*. His journal commences at the Cape.

Hopewell, and *Refuge*, arrived on November 30, having lost the *Spy* [*sic*. The *Scout* is meant.] on the way. The *Exchange*, *William*, *Hart*, and *Star* sail to-day for Persia, leaving at Swally the *Palsgrave*, *Mary*, *Blessing*, *Dolphin*, *Discovery*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge*. (1 *p*.)

JOHN HUNTER, PURSER OF THE *WILLIAM*, AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 18, 1627 (*O.C.* 1263).

Sends his accounts of the estates of men deceased, with their wills in original. The provisions have in general been very good, except the biscuit provided by Mr. Clifton. (½ *p*.)

DAVID DAVIS'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *HART* FROM SURAT TO GOMBROON AND BACK (*Marine Records*, vol. xliv. p. 63).

1627, *December* 18. The fleet, consisting of the *Exchange*, *William*, *Hart*, and *Star*, set sail. 1628, *January* 3. Saw Jask. *January* 6. Reached Gombroon. *February* 7. Sailed again. *February* 24. Arrived at Swally, where lay the *Mary*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge*. (5 *pp*.)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY EDWARD AUSTIN (*Ibid.*, vol. xlvii. p. 33).

1627, *December* 18. Sailed. *December* 29. Saw the Dutch fleet of eight ships. Sighted the Persian coast. 1628, *January* 5. Anchored off Ormus. *January* 6. Reached Gombroon. *January* 7. Ten Portuguese frigates passed. *February* 4. Went over to Ormus. *February* 7. Sailed for Surat. *February* 24. Reached Swally. *February* 25. Went into the Hole. (5¼ *pp*.)

ANDREW WARDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE IN THE *WILLIAM* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlv. p. 54).

1627, *December* 17. The *William* and the *Exchange* came out of the Hole. The Lord Ambassador[1] embarked in the former with his followers. The *Hart* and *Star* also came out. *December* 18. The fleet sailed. *December* 29. Overtook six Dutch ships that had

[1] Sir Dodmore Cotton, with Herbert in his suite. The latter says that the passengers in the fleet included 'above three hundred slaves whom the Persians bought in India, Persees, Jentews (Gentiles), Bannaras [? Banjārās, explained on p. 270], and others' (*Travels*, ed. 1638, p. 110).

left Surat ten days before the English. 1628, *January* 5. Anchored under Ormus. *January* 6. Moved over to Gombroon, watched by 26 Portuguese frigates from Larak. *February* 4. Sailed to Ormus. *February* 5. The commander and the merchants visited the Sultan there to settle for the customs. *February* 7. The fleet sailed. *February* 24. Arrived at Swally, having seen nothing of the Dutch since the day they all sailed. ($8\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Another Account by John Pashley, Master of the *Star* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlviii. p. 45).

1627, *December* 18. The fleet sailed. *December* 29. Sighted the coast of Persia. In the afternoon overtook six Dutch ships. 1628, *January* 6. Anchored in Gombroon Road. *January* 7. Ten Portuguese frigates came almost within shot and then stood off to sea again. *January* 9. The Dutch fleet arrived. *February* 4. Sailed from Gombroon and anchored off Ormus. *February* 5. The Agent went on shore, and 'all this day our long boates feched red earth [1] from thence for our Honorable Company'. *February* 7. The Agent and merchants went to Gombroon in a country boat, and the fleet sailed. *February* 22. Sighted the Indian coast. *February* 25. Got into Swally Hole. *February* 27. The Dutch fleet arrived. ($7\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

Nathaniel Mountney at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, December 28, 1627 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 488).

His former letters of December 14 and 20 respectively mentioned the approach and arrival of Prince Khurram [Shāh Jahān]; now writes to announce the Prince's departure, which took place six days ago. 'The King [Shāh Jahān] went hence on Sunday last, leaving att his departure Naer Caun [Nāhir Khān] for Governour, whome hee hath made also Saheb Subah [2] of this province, and one Meirza

[1] On a later page this is termed 'geru', probably from 'Jaru' or 'Jarūn', the ancient name of the island. Van den Broeck (*Voyagie*, p. 109) mentions that in 1629 the Dutch ships fetched red earth from Ormus. In the Hakluyt Society's edition of Teixeira, it is noted that for buildings on the island a cement was used 'of white gypsum, abundant on the mainland . . . and of a local sort, red, and not so good'. It is possible that on the present occasion, in addition to its utility as ballast, the red earth was intended for sale in India as a medicine.

[2] Sāhib-sūbah, i. e. a sūbadār, or governor of a province.

Muckie [Mīrzā Makkī], a munsubdare [*mansabdār*], for his Dewon [*Dīwān*]; both which exacted great somes of money from this cittie, wheather by the Princes order or noe is not knowne. Itt caused here a generall forsakeing both of house and cittie, the rich as not being willing to paie, and [the] poore not able, what they weare taxed att. Att present, notwithstanding, Amadavad remaines in his first estate, caused by a perwanna from the King which forbadd the exacting of anie more somes, especiallie from the poorer sort, procured (as it is thought) by the intercession of the two sisters, vizt. the Queene and Scieff Cauns wife[1]; yet will not the greater sort issue forth, fearing a relapse and that this is done the more easilie att their returne to intrapp them. The Hollanders arrived here 8 daies agone, but by reason of these troubles have effected nothing. Emanuell de Piva is gone for Cambaia with another Frenchman in companie that came from Agra, and are both bound for Goa att their caphilas dispeed. Santidas [Sāntidās], the deceased Kings jeweller, is arrived, but fearing to bee knowne hath privatelie retired himselfe.' Sends a letter received yesterday from the factors at Agra. Wrote thither by the pattamar that came from Surat on the 21st. Forwards copies of his two previous letters, which he fears they have not received. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp. Received January* 2.)

GREGORY CLEMENT, JOHN BANGHAM, RALPH CARTWRIGHT, AND JOHN GOODWIN AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 31, 1627 (*Ibid.*, p. 495).

Wrote last on November 28. Nothing of importance has happened since, ' all marchandizing being att a stand, and who shall raigne not yet knowne; the most likeliest thought Choroom. Here are daylie divers reports and rumours spread abroad from Lahore,' but nothing certain. The letters from Surat of November 7 arrived on the 4th current. The Dutch are buying indigo ' without feare or witt', giving 35 rupees for old and 33¾ for new, which is 3 or 4 higher than necessary; they paid 17,000 rupees beforehand, and have now got together some 700 fardles. Rejoice at the losses of the Portuguese, and hope that those who escaped ' may be

[1] Prince Khurram and Saif Khān both married daughters of Āsaf Khān.

served in the like manner or worse'. 'What you advise concerning Mauhobett Cauns joyning with the Prince Charoome and that their likeliest course wilbee for Bengala, it seemes that the newes of the Kings deceasure altred their designe, by what is reported here att present, which is that they are coming hither by the way of Guzeratt.' Note the orders that they are to remain at Agra until the Company's wishes are known, but are to invest all their cash and be prepared to leave at short notice from Surat. In any case they would not have started without companions, and no opportunity has occurred of joining a caravan. They are ready to leave, with their goods, which make 214 bales, but they will probably be obliged to draw upon Surat for 1,500 or 2,000 rupees, as they have no money in cash. As no orders have come, and the time is short, they propose to send on the goods under some of the factors in company with the Dutch, the other merchants remaining behind. The Dutch will be ready to start in about six days. This letter goes under cover to 'Gurdas', by the conveyance of 'Virga Voras vacquell' [*see* p. 30], who also undertook to send their previous letter of October 7. (*Copy. 2 pp. Received January* 19.)

CAPTAIN JOHN HALL AND RICHARD PREDYS, ABOARD THE *MARY* AT SWALLY, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 1, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 487).

Have done their best to make a start, but the winds and tides have hindered them. Now await further orders. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

JEREMY SHUKER AT BROACH TO THE SAME, JANUARY 1, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 487).

'The Governour of this towne, Aucobb Caun [Yaqūb Khān], hath sent for all our lead, and his people hath carried it to his house; who, as I understand, will keepe it untill such tyme as hee shall see whither hee shall have occasion to use itt or noe; if not, hee intends to returne it back againe. When they fetcht it away, they promised current payment for it as the Caussees [Qāzī's] chopp [*see* p. 32] was; which [i. e. the lead] is now upwards of 10 m[ahmūdīs] per maen; but their is noe trust of his word, only delasses [*see* p. 32]. Also his sonne in law, Monseir Caun [Mansūr Khān], hath sent for Pangue, our broker, as also the

Dutches, and hath three severall tymes imprisoned them, with threats that if they doe not bring him 20 coveds broad cloth, 10 apeece, by such a day, hee will whipp them ; by [*sic*] which words they have given him their chittees [Hind. *chitthī*, a note] to bring itt att 10 daies tyme att furthest ; the Dutch broker having given him parte of his alreadie, in the absence of Mr. Willibrant.[1] Moreover, to our brokers hee threatts both the English and Dutch, that if they come not [to] visitt him hereafter, as they have done the Governour and Sheck [Shaik], hee will hinder both our bussines. All this towne (as Pangue telleth me) stands in feare of him, the Governour nor Sheck disallowing of what hee will have done. Yesterday morning here came a firmaun from Sultan Choroom, or Naer Caun in his name, to this Governour, the effect whereof is (as is reported) to know the reason why Aucobb Caun made such provisions here against the Prince his coming, certifying him that he had noe such intent to trouble any parte of Chaun Jehauns jaggeers. This firmaun was carried about the towne for joy with his drums and trumpetts. Mr. Willibrant received yesternight letters from Amadavad, in which Mr. Adam[2] wrote him that Sultan Choroom caused the gates of Amadavad to bee lockt two daies, whereby the banians etc. should not runn away before they had given him 20 lecks of rup[ees], of which some Naer Chaun had gott most parte for him ; also Chaun Jehan wrote him that hee would deliver upp unto him Brampore etc. jaggeers hee had belonging unto him, as alsoe himselfe att his command. Hee is departed Amadavad and gone towards Lahore with all speed hee cann.' (*Copy. 1 p. Received January 2.*)

President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, John Skibbow, Joseph Hopkinson, William Martin, and George Page at Surat to the Company, January 4, 1628 (*O.C.* 1264).[3]

Their reasons for not sending home a ship after the return of the Persia fleet were explained in their letter of March 17, 1627 [*missing*],

[1] Van den Broeck mentions the appointment (April 1625), of 'Wollebrant Gelijnsz.' to be chief at Broach (*Voyagie*, p. 105).

[2] Probably Adam Verhoeve, who signs a letter at Surat in May 1628 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 278).

[3] There is an extract from this letter at the Public Record Office (*East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 27).

dispatched overland by way of Mokha; if unreceived, the transcripts and registers forwarded herewith will give all necessary information. Now answer the Company's letters of September 30, 1624, and March 16–19, 1625 (all received by the *Palsgrave* in October, 1626), of March 4, 1626 (by the *Christopher*), and of April 7, 1626 (by the *William*). Will endeavour to guard against damage to goods by careless stowing, &c.; also against the repetition of the disaster to the *Whale*. 'Our faire correspondence with this country people is continued by all the meanes we can; and our living amongst them is with greater peace and amity then ever itt was before the breach; wherin although the Dutches underhand dealing gave them advantage to scandalize our intents and exasperated also their severity in the punishment, yett we doe find their affeccion in generall more inclined to us then to them. Albeit our bussines this yeare hath beene extraordinarily protracted and delayed through the intrusion of Sualy Governor, who for his masters private gaine would inforce a newe custome, both on the Dutches goods and ours, or divert the old from Surratt; wherto our Governor, being alsoe Customer for the King, not yeilding, and yett (in respect of the others master) not executing his office with absolute authority, hath caused us much trouble and detained our goods 40 dayes in the feildes.' Their former letters will show how little has been effected 'concerning the amity injoyned by Your Worships for commerce with the Dabulliers of Decan'. A sum of 45,504 mahmūdīs still remains unsatisfied by 'the Decannees of Nisam Shaw his country, for the caphila robd by his army',[1] and this must be remembered when opportunity offers for its recovery. Last year, at the entreaty of the merchants of Surat, they gave passes to two ships of 'Danda Raspore' for the Red Sea, in order to free a Surat junk which, having been forced into that port by bad weather, was detained until the Dutch and English gave passes for those vessels. 'Our claime of restitucion from them would in our opinion be no great impediment to our settling in Dabull, the sayd ports, though not 30 leagues distant from either, belonging to severall kings, if the late death of Edell Shaw, King of Dabull,[2]

[1] See the 1618–21 volume, p. xxx, &c.

[2] Dābhol was the principal port of the Bījāpur kingdom. The monarch here referred to was Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II, who died in 1626 (the same year as Malik Ambar), and

and the minority of an infant king now reigning, did not induce our feare itt would become a prey unto Nisam Shaw, his potent neighbour, whose late deceased generall, Melick Amber, was master thereof two yeares since by surprizall and restored itt againe by composition. But these three yeares feare of our ranging enemy the Portugall hath extenuated or left unconsidered all other difficulties ; though our want of meanes to prosecute trade by a settled residence is of moment sufficient alone to divert the attempt untill by monies and commodities fitting you shall better enable us. The estate of your bussines in Mocho hath also beene dilated in our former letters. The few commodities sent thither for releife of your people by a junk of this place were received by your factors there resident, who are still detained, and give incouragment for prosecution of that trade, though rebellion of the Arabs in general hath revoulted most part of those territories from the Turks government ; only three townes besides Sinan [Sana] and Mocho remaine for the Turk, but conceived itt is that by the coming of a new Basshaw and other forces the Arabs will againe be reduced, themselves pretending that this revoult is not from the Grand Signor his obedience but for their owne safteis from the tiranny and injustice of the present Basshaw. Coppie of the letter writt unto us from thence, bearing date the 22th July, with a postscript of the 15th August [*not extant*], received here the 13th September, we send herwith for your farther intelligence of the premises ; wherby you will also perceive that Thomas Beale, one of the four there left, tooke passage on Court Mahmuds junk for Decan ; which Court Mahmud, touching att Aden, was there slaine by the Arabs, and his vessell, proceeding for India, was neare the coast assaulted by foure Portugall frigatts, with whom after a hard conflict she freed herselfe and recovered a small port neare to that she was bound unto ; but what is become of Beale, whether living or dead, we are yett unascertained.' The 'Decannees' will probably detain him, if alive, to force the grant of a fresh pass. Have communicated with them regarding payment of the money due, which ought to be cleared before any reconciliation is agreed to. 'We fully apprehend

was succeeded by Mahmūd Ādil Shāh, then in his sixteenth year. I have not found any corroboration of the statement here made, that Dābhol was captured in that year by the Nizām Shāhī (Ahmadnagar) forces.

the liberty you have given concerning suppressing of the Portugall,[1] whose insolent and inhumane butchery committed since on the lives of your people doth farther exasperate; yett how unable we have beene of late yeares to indammage them severall former letters doth certefy you; wherin, though our desires also have seconded your order, the successe hath not answered our expectacion.' Regret the deficiencies found in the ladings of various ships. The only two of the factors responsible left in the country are Hopkinson, now chief at Ahmadābād, and Martin, chief at Broach. These are at present at Surat and disclaim responsibility for the errors; and so the Council know not where to lay the blame. They have, however, issued general instructions to prevent the like hereafter. As for the indigo missing, the factors returned should be called to account. Explain the precautions taken to prevent loss or pilfering on shore, and express a belief that some at least of the missing goods were stolen while in the ships. Suggest that the officers of the latter should be required to make good anything thus embezzled. The recovery of the fourteen churls of indigo taken from a caravan several years ago [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. xv, &c.] is quite hopeless, for no attention is paid to any farmān for its restitution, 'they being rebells and shifting theeves, that obey the Kings ordinances noe longer then his forces are neare to compell them.' That the Company's orders for the timely provision of cargoes are not neglected is shown by the large sums owing at the dispeed of the *James* and *Jonas*, 'and will againe be farther demonstrated by our present ingagements, itt exceding this yeare above 36,000*l.* sterling. . . . But for the returne of your shipps home the same yeare of their arrivall, itt is impossible, as well for that the callicoes

[1] The following extract from the Court minutes of February 28, 1627, is apposite in this connexion: 'Mr. Ellam desired to know the resolucion of the Court how the persons of the Portugalls should be dealt withall, if it should please God they should falle into the hands of the English. Some were of opinion to deale with them as Ruy Friero did with the English; some to put the cheife officers to death; but the gennerall resolucion was to shew themselves Englishmen and to be mercifull to all but Ruy Friero, and to shew the like crueltie to him as he did to the English; unlesse any new cruelties have since that bin pursued, and then the buisnes is left to the Commanders if they shall surprise any Portugalls in heate of bloud to doe what they thinke good, either by putting them to death, ransoming them (if persons of qualitie), or bringing them home prisoners; and for the meaner sort to keepe them in irons or make them to worke, or change one man for another if they have any of ours.'

by you required are procured with tedious labour as for that your number of shipping are many more then we have yett meanes to lade home. We observe your desire for the farming of your customes here, which, in regard theise princes doe generally affect novelties,[1] will not be granted ; nor is itt in our opinions very convenient for you, seing a round summe would be imposed for the customes of private trade, never to be recovered from them ; but if provicion also for this might be procured, the Kings servants that are officers here and the merchants in generall will prevent any such conclusion ; the former grant having proceeded from constraint, without any intent or meaning on their parts to accomplish itt.' Soon after the dispatch of their letter of March 17 last, Wylde, Hopkinson, and others took some goods to Cambay for sale, at the invitation of Mīr Mūsā, the Governor of that city, who had just returned from court. He bought a quantity of satin, tapestry, kerseys, &c., and was desirous of having the principal jewels, but they were so extraordinarily overrated that no agreement could be reached. Wylde thereupon carried them to Ahmadābād in the hope of selling them there ; but finding that no one would take them, he returned to Cambay and sold them to the Governor for 11,000 rupees, which is less than the cost price. No endeavour has been omitted to sell the great ruby belonging to Sir Thomas Roe and Mr. Leate. It has now been purchased by a rich jeweller of Ahmadābād, who had been called to court to answer some complaints, and who after much negotiation consented to give for it 15,900 rupees, 'without other abatement then a toy of Mr. Leates, rated att 3*l.* (broken and worth little), given a child of his, one vest of sattin to his broker, and another to yours that negotiated the bussines.' He also bought three other rubies for 5,200 rupees. Little hope of the sale of the remaining jewels, as no one will give anything like the price asked, 'all jewells being declined from their wonted estimacion, except extraordinary rich orient round pearles, paragon rubies, and beautifull great ballasts[2]; but of ordinary

[1] The meaning is that the authorities would insist on maintaining the present system, because under it no curiosity likely to give pleasure at court could escape their notice. For an instance of severe punishment following an omission to report the arrival of an acceptable picture see the 1618–21 volume, p. 111.

[2] Balass rubies. The name is derived from *Badakhsī*, i. e. 'of Badakhshān,' the country whence they came.

sorts be pleased to send no more, nor any emrauldes, though never so cheape and rare.' Broadcloth is in small demand everywhere. Many bales were found deficient in length, and the cloth is coarser than usual; the sale is therefore likely to be slow, especially as 'quantity of stammetts and other fine clothing are yearly brought out by private traders and sould att meane rates'. The amber beads were disposed of at Ahmadābād at over 25 per cent. profit, which is less than in former years. A smaller quantity should be sent, and the balance made up with rough amber. Owing to a recent supply brought by the Portuguese, their elephants' teeth were in small demand. The consignment has since been realized, but the gain is too small to make it worth while to persevere with the importation, 'if your continued desire to lessen the transportacion of coine did not occacion our advise for all comodities that will but yeild their prime cost.'[1] The prices obtained for the coral will be found in the accounts. Discrepancies in the weights, both of the coral and the ivory. Lead bought by the Governor of Surat for resale. Not more than twelve or thirteen thousand maunds will sell per annum. It had been intended to send Gregory Clement to Agra with the jewels and other goods; but as the best were sold in Cambay, 'the rest were not of sufficient valew to induce a residence att court.' 'Whilst I was in Cambaia letters came unto me from Agra importing Justinian Offlyes decease, who departed this life, after a lingring sicknes, the 18th of Aprill last, and (no other English being then there) was buryed by the Dutch[2]; which hastened Gregory Clement, Robert Cletheroe, and Ralph Cartwright from Amadavad thitherwards, where by speedy travaile they arived the 15th June, and found John Bangam and John Goodwin newly come from Lahoare; to whom your house was surrendered by the Governor, who with the Dutch had placed all things found therin att Mr. Offleyes decease in one chamber with both their

[1] This is worth noting, as showing that the Company were doing all they could to pacify the clamour raised in England against their constant exportation of money.

[2] A tombstone to his memory still exists in the Old Protestant Cemetery in the Civil Lines at Agra (*List of Christian Tombs and Monuments in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 173; *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra*, 1875, p. xv). The inscription, which is much worn, appears to have run: '[Here lies the body] of Justinian Offl[ey, wh]o was chief marchant in Agra fo[r the Engli]sh. He deceased [the 18th of] Aprill, 1627.' Close at hand are two other English tombs (John Drake, 1637, and George Purchas, 1651) and four Dutch.

seales on the lock, which was not opened untill all your sayd servants mett, wherby what was left therin att his decease will doubtlesse come to light. Butt his accounts are so imperfect that more then all we feare will not cleare them.' Now reply 'concerning the places by Your Worships nominated for forteficacions'. 'We assembled a councell the 24th November last aboard the *Blessing*, consisting of the sayd commaunders and principall masters, where your desires and purposes were amply communicated and discussed, as per coppie of the sayd consultacion sent herwith . . . wherby you will sufficiently apprehend your seamens reply concerning Londons Hope [*see* p. 160] and their incertainty of Bumbaiee, which are the places to be selected of those in your letter mencioned, if the many wants attending th' one and difficulties by opposicion of the Portugall in th' other be not sufficient motives to abandon both. Your peoples omission in full discovery of the latter hath induced our farther inquisicion of itts forme and conveniencies, which one Richard Tuck, an English saylor now here with us, that hath long served the Portugall and frequented the place, doth describe in manner following. The iland called Bumbaiee in some places thereof is within muskett shott off the maine of Decan, divided by a small creeke from another iland called Salsett; both which seeme one land and make butt two channells or entrances, one to the southwards of the sayd ilands and thother to the northwards, which last is neare unto the iland of Bassein, and from the sea twixt itt and Bassein maketh a navigable river, called the river of Bassein, howbeitt within, near unto Salsett, the passage twixt the maine and itt is very shoale and narrow; butt the entrance to the southwards is a large channell, where shipps of greatest burthen may boldly enter laden and ride landlockt within a bay, free from all winds and weather, being the same where your people demolished a fort or chappell of the Portugalls last yeare [i. e. 1626]; within which some 3 leagues they have another village and small fort [Thāna ?], to keepe the Mallabar frigats from rounding the iland, where is so little water that every ebbe the people of the maine, being the subjects of Nisam Shaw, King of that part Decan, may wade over. The inhabitants both of Bumbaiee and Salsett are poore fishermen and other labourers, subject to the Portugall; whether as well the Portugalls as the Moores cattle come from the iland of Bassein and

from the maine to feed. Itt is in length twixt 6 and 7 leagues, lying N. and S., but in breadth little more then an English mile. Itt is not unlikly, as this fellow affirmeth, that the Portugalls have made choise of the fittest places to fortefy, being the same already mencioned. Howbeitt our people do speake of a point lying out into the sea att entrance, which this man averreth to be a low sandy point meerly unfitt for forteficacion, and that the entrance cannott be commaunded from the shoare, which is cause the Portugalls have not bestowed cost in strengthning itt, as they have done other places, the small forts mencioned being only to keepe the Mallabars from robbing the country, abounding with all kinds of fruite, rice, and fish, a most pleasant and healthfull place, fitt to be inhabited, hath stones sufficient to build and fortefy, and timber is had from the maine in abundance to make the Portugall frigatts and small vessells, butt their greater shipps they build at Bassein and Damon.' The seamen's opinions regarding Ormus and Kishm will be found in the same consultation, and the President and Council are disposed to concur. 'Butt that which makes itt past all doubt is the King of Persia his answer to your Agent, Mr. Burt, who in a letter dated in Spahan the 12th July last, received here overland the 28th October, certefyeth that the King hath given ample deniall of any fort within his Persian dominion, with such farther addicion of distrust as will ascertaine you that King seekes his owne ends and never intended any such division as was contracted. . . . If he make all that is gained by your peoples assistance to be his Persian continent, you will have little reason to assist him in Muscatt, least by title thereof he claime all the continent of Arabia also. How necessary a forteficacion in some convenient harbour would be for the stability and augmentacion of your affaires in theise parts we sufficiently apprehend, and joyning our indeavours to your desires have made inquiry concerning all the harbours on this coast; but cannot learne of any more fitt then those already nominated, which our severall relacions will ascertaine you cannott be effected without much cost and difficulty and a greater number of enginers and military men then your fleetes att any time affoard, our people for the most part being heedlesse, ungoverned, without discipline and order, which, by such wary and multitude of disturbers as perhaps the Moores

and Portugalls would surely be, will soone be discerned and all advantages layd hould of to distresse and extirpate them. And the conveniences in either are not such as a proffitable plantacion doth require, seing the entrance of Bumbaiee nor any other place within the bay, as afore is probably alleadged, can commaund the entrance or secure the harbour; both which may be effected att Londons Hope, if the sterility of that soyle, distance of the place from your trade, want of fresh water espetially and of all other necessaries did not induce itts desisting; and that also will in our opinions be perform'd with lesse difficulty in respect of opposicion by enemies then the former, if (notwithstanding the inconveniencies) resolved; for, when the Portugall gallions shall remove from Muscatt, the townesmen are few and wilbe able to give little molestacion, espetially when a fleete of shipps shall winter att Londons Hope to accomplish the worke, where are stones enough, and more may be had as well from the ruines of ould Calliatt[1] as from Ormus; and may conveniently be visited with your fleetes from Europe before they arrive att Suratt, and yett arrive att their accustomed seasons, if you will please to dispatch them from home a moneth or 6 weekes sooner then usuall. But your workmen and materialls must come from England, for that the jealousy of theise inhabitants will affoard neither; nor will the workmen, being Gentiles and superstitious in their eatings, etc., be induced to goe, if leave were given. Howbeitt, after erecting of your forteficacion, itt is not to be doubted but timber for building may be sent from hence (for sale) by the inhabitants themselves, as is usuall to Muscatt, where (water excepted) the country is little better than Londons Hope, and Ormus is farre worse, yett industry made them habitable and commerce made them rich. Soe that itt cannott be denied but the greatest of our alleaged difficulties may be overcome if, not regarding the charge, you send enginers, workmen, souldiers, and materialls to make the worke firme for defence and opposicion, which only safty of the harbour doth excite (for doubtlesse there is not the like in India unpossessed), though destitute of all other conveniencies; and is therefore referred to your farther consideracion.' The fleet sailed from Surat on March 31, 1627; reached Batavia May 28; and, with the addition of the *Exchange*, set sail

[1] Kalhāt, about twenty miles N. W. of Sūr; burnt by Albuquerque in 1507.

from thence on June 18. They anchored at St. Augustine's Bay on July 28, and three days later proceeded to the Comoro Islands, 'without attending att all our designe in the lattitude assigned, which they altered by consultacion through latenes of the season, although, in expectacion of your fleetes arrivall from England, they spent 17 dayes in Mohelia and Joanna, where neither Dutch nor English appearing, they sett sayle hitherward the 28 August and arived att Sualy the first October, without encounter, either of frind or enemy, in all their navigacion.' On this fleet goods to the value of 202,734 mahmūdīs were sent to Batavia, which, added to those dispatched in the *Christopher*, makes a supply of 332,753 mahmūdīs in one year. In return, Batavia sent some cloves, sandalwood, &c., to the value of 25,780 rials 30, excusing the small quantity as due to their being unprovided and to the short stay of the ships. They have urged the continuance of the supply, and so (the bad sales in Persia having caused Surat to desist from sending Indian commodities thither) it has been decided to dispatch the *Blessing* to Batavia with 'a round cavidall of goods'. By the *Morris* a consignment of broadcloth, gold, and lead, costing 37,197 mahmūdīs, was sent to Masulipatam, but out of this the factors were to pay 8,728 mahmūdīs due to an Armenian passenger from the merchants in Persia. The ship arrived there on April 27, and left 'Aramagon' on August 14 for Batavia. The *Abigail*, which had been condemned as unserviceable, was by Eustace Man's advice hauled on shore in 'the river of Nassaporpett' [*see* p. 17] and patched up, 'although the charge hath occacioned them since to wish itt undone.' She was dispatched from Masulipatam on October 15 and was consigned to 'Aramagon' to lade salt for Batavia; 'in the former of which your factors, itt seemes, have given over or protracted their intended forteficacion and content themselves with a residence only.' Two gold coins of Armagon[1] and twenty other specimens are transmitted herewith. Twenty-six days after the arrival of the English fleet, seven Dutch ships and a pinnace [*see* p. 182] reached Swally from Batavia, bringing letters, of which copies are now forwarded. Three of these ships started from Holland last year for Surat, but had to return to the Texel, owing to one being leaky; and then, hearing of the strength of the

[1] Evidently the factors at Armagon had commenced to coin pagodas.

Portuguese in these waters, their destination was changed to Batavia, which they reached after a tedious voyage of a year or more. For the same reason, two ships dispatched this year were diverted to Batavia, where joining the former three, and having two more added, they have now come on to Surat. They have imparted little news, except that the *James* and *Jonas* had arrived safely in England. They give out that they have brought supplies for Surat and Persia to the value of 200,000*l.* sterling.[1] The English factors, on the other hand, are in debt to the extent of 772,000 mahmūdīs or 38,600*l.* 'Our bussines found a generall stoppe in all places for want of meanes; and the poorer creditors made stay of our caphila, carted and prepared for dispeed in Amadavad, untill by letters of frinds and other meanes they were perswaded (for interest) to longer forbearance. Meanewhile preparing to lade what was already housed att Ranneill, with the investment of this and Baroch factories, we found an unexpected opposicion from the Governor[2] on th' other side the river, who in the right of his master,[3] a great man and neare councellor to the ould King, demaunded our customes, as dew unto the port of Sualy, where your shipps do lade and discharge; which the Governor of Surratt, being for the King, utterly refused. And soe neither would give way unto th' other, for clearing of our goods; which the Surratt Governor might have compelled, but fearing to displease th'others master (his frind and preferrer) would use no violence. In which dissencion Mirmosa, the Governor of Cambaia aforemencioned, hearing of shipps arrivall and supposing them to have jewells or other rarieties, came downe expresly (as promised att my being there) with store of monies to buy; but finding nothing of moment, neither from us, the Dutch, nor the inhabitants, he made himselfe displeased with your better sort, to procure presents for the regaining his favour, and pretended to us that his journey was cheifly to determine our bussines in reconciliacion of the two Governors; which indeed he seemed to labour, and in all mens apprehension did accord them, appointing the officers of both to keepe accounts, but the monies for custome to remaine in our owne possession untill advise from court should determine the question; which being to

[1] The *Dagh-Register* (p. 326) gives the value of their cargo as 930,115 florins.
[2] Of Olpād.
[3] Khwāja Abūl Hasan.

our advantage drew from us larger presents (he visiting also your shipps) then otherwise we should have given; who was no sooner gone but they againe returned to their former variance, insomuch as all the great men in theise parts tooke notice of our injury and many letters were written to and againe concerning itt; wherin the townesmen and Persian merchants also mediating in vaine, letters att last from court sett a moderacion in the desires of th'one and assent to some connivence in th'other; and so itt was concluded that the Kings Governor should receive our custome of goods to and from Europe and the southwards, and the noblemans Governor the custome of all mens goods to and from Persia, with custome of goods also sould att markett on the Mareen[1]; which yett could not be concluded without rupees 500 bribe to each and accustomed presents. And no sooner were our goods chopt and cleared but a suddaine rumour overspread the land with the Kings death, which filled all men with feare and expectacion, except only rebells and theeves, that make itt their harvest. This newes was first wispered here the 19th November,[2] but within two dayes after publikly divulged: whose decease was the first of the sayd moneth in his journey twixt Cashmeere and Lahoare.[3] Evory one now attending with care who should be promoted unto the succession, desired as their affeccions ledd them, some one and some another of the compettitors; whilst the principalls of these inhabitants (being naturall Persians) directed secretly their peticions unto Prince Charoom, and the Governour of the towne, retiring himselfe into his castle, did the like, being an antient servant to that prince, and

[1] i. e. the waterside. 'When any ships ride at Swalley (from September to March commonly), the bannians all along the sea side pitch booths or tents and straw houses in great numbers, where they sell callicoes, Chena satten, purcellan ware, scrutores or cabbinets of mother of pearle, of ebony, of ivory, agats, turquoises, heliotropes, cornelians, rice, sugar, plantans, arack, &c.' (Herbert's *Travels*, ed. 1638, p. 37).

[2] Van den Broeck (*Voyagie*, p. 107) says that he heard of the event on December 6 (N. S. = November 26, O. S.).

[3] According to the native historians, Jahāngīr died near Rājor about breakfast-time on Sunday, 28 Safar, 1037 A. H. (Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. p. 435, vol. vii. p. 5; Blochmann, *Calcutta Review*, vol. xlix. p. 127; and information kindly furnished by Mr. Henry Beveridge). This is usually stated to be equivalent to October 28, 1627 (O. S.), which certainly was a Sunday; but the ordinary tables make A. H. 1037 commence on September 2, 1627, and in that case 28 Safar would fall on October 29. However, Indian chronology has its obscurities, and in the present case the day of the week appears to be our safest guide.

was Captaine of this castle for him when he fell into disgrace with his father. Butt att this time his change was so suddaine as rare, for Sief Chaun, whose deputies long governed this place, being newly returned from court to Amadavad with authority of Saheb-suba [*see* p. 188] or Viceroy of the province, suspecting, itt seemes, the sayd Captaines surrender, ordained a servant of his residing here (that had formerly also beene Captain thereof) to surprise the castle; who with four men only, having first corrupted the warders, entring as a visitant, effected itt, and made the Governor prisoner; and presently therupon, doubting either disturbance or insurreccion of the people, assuming the government, proclaimed Charoom their king; which device, though itt pacefied the multitude, did not greatly assure those of better intelligence, who, doubting Sief Chauns affeccion, were of opinion the castle could not thus be wrested from the new proclaimed Kings servant, if really intended for his service. Now whilst all men were distracted with these occurrents, itt pleased the Allmighty to give us some consolacion by the arrivall of your fleete from England under the commaund of Captain Hall, wherof the intelligence came unto us (att least of shipps in sight) the evening of the same day wherin the castle was surprised, being the 29 November; which the next morrow confirmed from Sualy, drew us speedily thither to injoy the comfort of such happy tidings as by them we might expect; which ere we could attaine unto, an unexpected object of many bales [of] goods on the Mareen, some wett and some burnt, were presented to our view, discharged from the *Palsgrave* through an unhappy accident of fire, wherin the great mercy of God delivered your shipp and goodes from destruction, as in some fitter place shalbe related. The occacion of these shipps so tardy arrivall the commaunder imputes unto contrary winds betwixt the iland of St. Lawrence [Madagascar] and the maine; for they arived att Cape Speranza the 10th July and departed thence the 20th ditto, but gained not the iland of Mohelia untill the 10th September, whence they departed the 16th ditto, and had the westerly munzone unto 9 degrees N. latitude, which there left them. . . . You may please to observe that either itt is requisitt you give your fleetes more timly dispatch att home or else that you absolutely prohibitt their touching att Cape Speranza.' Will now answer the Company's

letter of March 12 brought by the fleet, 'after some requisitt digression in the advise of farther occurrents concerning the change in state aforemencioned; for the better apprehension wherof you may please to remember what was written in our letter of the 29th November, 1626 [*see* p. 150] as well concerning the Prince Charoom as of Mahobett Chan, the Kings generall; which last, although he had sett Asaph Chaun att liberty, by instigacion of the Queene was commaunded not to approach the Kings presence, but to keepe himselfe and his army 5 course distant from the Kings; who, doubting some greater disgrace, went farther off; when the King, hearing of treasure coming from Bengala to him, permitted, if not enordered, itts surprizall [*see* p. 149], and expelld him also from the revennues of Bengala, which was his province; wherupon with 5,000 horse of his owne followers he came by easy travaile towards Guzeratt, and was many months as easily followed with 10 or 12,000 horse of the Kings army, who (as report gave out) had secrett order from the King not to fall upon him; att least they did not, nor ever came nearer then 15 or 20 course of his stations. In which interim his eldest sonne,[1] having surrendered Bengala, repaired unto the King and received very gratious entertainment; butt the Queene by no meanes would admitt the recalling of his father. Meanewhile the King being att Cashmeere, and Mahobett Chaun residing in the middle country betwixt Agra and these parts, held correspondence with the Prince Charoom, who earnestly desiring an attonment, they exchanged vowes of love and frindshipp; wheruppon Mahobet Chaun repaired unto the Prince att his residence in Decan, where he had not long remained ere newes of the Kings death seconded his arivall and put life againe in the Prince to stand for the kingdome. And for entrance, this towne and castle being as aforesayd proferred to be att his devocion, he first addrest himselfe hither; wherof the newes came hastily unto us att Sually the 2d December, ere we were returned from the shipps, with advise from the principall merchants to make present repaire, which also we did, and in their company

[1] Khānazād Khān (Mīrzā Amān-ullah). Shāh Jahān, soon after his accession, gave him the title of Khān Zamān Bahādur. He died in 1637 (Beale).

De Laet (p. 274) confirms the account given in the text of Mahābat Khān's movements. He says that it was Āsaf Khān who gave secret orders to the royal troops not to make an attack.

went 7 miles off to meete him, his people having first possessed the towne and settled themselves in the government. Sief Chauns servants and frinds being all fledd into the castle, which they would not surrender; wherupon the Prince advanced not, but enordered his servants to take some monies by way of loane of the townesmen. From us they had 5,000 rialls, in part of custome, and 7,000 more which some merchants borrowed of us to lend him, therby pretending their want; which was no sooner payd butt the new Governor accompanied them and us unto his army; where the first night the merchants had very gratious admittance, and wee with them, who spake very effectually in our praise, but no one word of the Dutch, though afterwards they also were admitted.[1] The next morning he sett forth toward Baroch, and wee followed for a convenient time to deliver our present; and being desirous to see the strength and manner of his army, on the way kept somthing neare itt; the choise horsemen wherof, being about 5,000, were divided into two squadrons, halfe a mile distant each from other, and himselfe with Mahobett Chaun, that time on horseback, with a troupe of his principall servants in the middle twixt both; one of whom demaunding if we would salute the King, made present way, and the Prince, perceiving us to alight, stayd his horse, admitted us to touch him, heard what we would say, and demaunded some questions of us, which was accompted a very great grace. The same afternoone we delivered our present, being two faire horses (one Arabian, th'other a Persian), 6 yeardes scarlett and 6 yeards rich cloth of gold; all which he liked very well, but espetially the horses, causing them immediately to be fitted with rich furniture, and the next day rode one of them himselfe. The cloth and tissue he tooke with his owne hand from mine, and drew itt out in length,

[1] This conflicts with the account given by Van den Broeck (*Voyagie*, p. 107), for he declares that he was the first to visit the Prince from Surat. He was at Swally when he heard that Shāh Jahān was approaching and that a demand had been made on the Dutch merchants for Rs. 10,000 for his use. He at once returned to Surat, and the same evening went with a present to the Prince's camp, which was pitched about three (Dutch) miles outside the city. He was very graciously received, and was given a fine horse (to which Mahābat Khān added a second). At Van den Broeck's request Shāh Jahān gave the Dutch a fresh farmān. Herbert (ed. 1638, p. 108) says, speaking of the Prince, 'at our being in his country he came within two dayes journey of Surrat, and in a ceremoniall way the English merchants ships thundred out his health by 200 great shot, which he most thankfully accepted of.'

demaunding why we had cutt itt and where the rest was; remembred to have bought of us the like tissue, but acknowledged this to be better. Finally, we had gracious acceptance and gennerall applause, himselfe willing us to demaund what we would have. We shewed him our late greivances, and insinuated what we could our desire of his prosperity, being assured of his favour and releife. Att night we were againe admitted, and with grant of a large firman, promise of his farther favour in our occacions, the guift of a horse and vest, were dismissed; and the next day had also the firman, so ample as we could well desire; and doe confide (if he be King) our suites will have better redresse then heretofore. The Governor of Baroch, being servant to Chan Jehan, Sahabsuba of Brampore and gennerall of the forces there residing, not comming out to meete the Prince, he went not thither, but passing the river few miles above itt proceeded towards Amadavad, and was received at all other places on the way. And being within 20 miles of the citty, the whole nobillity came forth and accepted him to be their King; yett most of the richer inhabitants, knowing his wants must be releived, hidd themselves. The officers rendered all the ould Kings treasure, and gave large presents of their owne. Sief Chaun sent immediate order to deliver up Suratt castle, with the treasure therin; and though very sick, being newly cutt for the stone, came also forth, and att intercession of the Princesse (his wives sister [*see* p. 189]) was pardoned his life; but of his treasure, jewells, elephants, horses, and servants the Prince tooke what he liked (though not so much as itt was thought he would have done), dismissed him, and made another Governor; and is proceeded thence with about 25,000 horse a neare way over the mountaines towards Agra, where itt is likely he wilbe received and inthroned, although th' other two compettitors have beene proclaimed Kings. For the ould King was no sooner dead (as aforesayd) but his second sonne Sheriare, the Queenes sonne in law, surprised Lahoare, [took] all the treasure in campe and citty, and was first proclaimed King; whereupon her brother, Asaph Chaun, with other the cheife councellors tooke Bullaguy [Bulāqī], sonne of the Kings eldest sonne, and fledd; whom many others following, they joyned, kept a while the feild, and returned to Lahoare; where in a fought battaile the late great Queene, with her sonne in law, had the foyle, were surprised, and are still detained

prisoners. And the conquerour was there proclaimed, but nowhere elce that we heare of as yett; whereby in liklyhood itt doth appeare all is reserved for Charoom, the Governor of Agra having called him, and the young Prince his councellors being the allies and favourers of Charoom; whom the souldiers in generall doe love, and whose best age, warlike disposicion, travaile, and experience in the highest and dejected fortunes hath made him fittest for the rule and government of so many nacions and spatious countryes.' Now return to the Company's letter. The pinnace *Scout* lost company with the rest of the fleet and has not since been heard of. 'Our Kings Majesties embassador [to Persia: Sir Dodmore Cotton] came safly hither, in company of Sir Robert Sherly and his lady; but the Persian embassador [Naqd Alī Beg] dyed a day before their anchoring att Sualy, and the merchants sonne[1] few dayes after their comming from Mohelia. The latter made a will, and the former had little to give; what either had is gonne for Gombroon to be disposed by your Agent and Councell. The late coming of your fleete prevented the Lord Embassador from going to Surratt; whom for his better accommodacion we removed into the *William*, and leaft Sir Robert Sherly in the *Starre*. His Lordshipp had dew reverence here, and went, we believe, very well pleased from hence; whose accomodacion with tents, &c., for his travayle not being to be had on the suddaine, we presented him one in your name from the Marreen.' The fleet sent to Persia comprised the *Exchange*, *William*, *Hart*, and *Star*. They carried nearly 300 passengers (mostly Persians) and freight amounting to about 20,000 mahmūdīs; the latter would have been more, had not the Dutch departed first, and yet was enough to pester all the ships, though the freight was not worth delaying for. On them were also sent the goods consigned thither by the Company, with eighteen broadcloths added, and a chest of rials to pay for the transport of the commodities up country. 'The reasons you give for sending so small supply will not passe current there.' The fleet sailed on December 17. The Dutch ships (except one intended for Holland) started for the same destination eight days earlier. That for

[1] Muhammad, son of Khwāja Shāhsuwār, a merchant who accompanied Naqd Alī Beg to England. As already mentioned (p. 88 *n.*), the father died during the mission. The son embarked on the return voyage but, as stated in the text, died before reaching India (see Herbert, p. 32).

Europe[1] sailed on December 5 or 6, while the English were with the Prince; hence their omission to send letters in her. Their consultation of December 12 will explain why they detained the *Mary*, &c. The four ships are sufficient to encounter the Portuguese, should they put in an appearance; but they 'have received a greater overthrow by the will of the Allmighty then your forces could give them'.[2] Have provided enough goods to lade the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery* for England. They have done their best to bring down the price of Sarkhej indigo, but this will never be effected while both Dutch and English are competing for it. Hoping to send home the *Dolphin* last year, they then bought 402 round churls [*see* p. 94] at 51 rupees per churl of four maunds. Since then, endeavouring to abate the price (as the Dutch were without money to purchase any), they waited too long and were forced to pay one rupee per maund higher than they might have done before the rains. The quantity added is 580 square fardles, the old costing from 12½ to 13½ rupees [per maund?], and the new from 13⅜ to 15½, the reason for the rise in price being that last year's indigo is better made than any of late years has been. Of Biāna indigo 386 bales were provided last year at Agra, costing from 35 to 36½ rupees per maund, except a small parcel bought green in the villages 'by mony advanced beforehand', which cost only 24½ rupees. They will omit no opportunity of obtaining a further supply, when to be had cheaply, and meanwhile will send no more Sarkhej indigo than they are obliged. Two hundred fardles of Biāna indigo are in readiness at Agra, bought by Clement and the rest, at 30 rupees or thereabouts: but they cannot be brought down until the country is more settled. Of cotton cloth or calicoes they have provided more than in any one year heretofore; and therein have obeyed the Company's orders to send the coarser sorts. Of these they have been able to procure both larger quantities and at cheaper rates, because the Dutch and the Moors have been scanted of money to make any great investment. The consignment consists of 428 bales of broad and 527 bales of narrow cloths. Of saltpetre they have sent enough to ballast the ships; it is the best that could be procured at Agra and Ahmadābād, and

[1] The *Maagd van Dort*.

[2] 'The Portugalles ships were destroyed by fowle weather' (*marginal note*).

that provided at the former place has proved very expensive, owing to exactions on the way down. They will send a like quantity on every future ship, and more if it can be got. Explain the high price of the former consignment of Dholka dutties; 411 bales now forwarded, besides 248 bales of long baftas. Intend to send one or two factors to Dholka this year. As regards Gandevī dutties, the quantity made is not sufficient to warrant the establishment of a factory, and the greater part is bought by Surat merchants for export to Mokha. They have tried to induce the weavers to comply with the Company's wishes for the substantial making of the cloth, but 'the close striking of the threedes would make the cloth shorter or use more yearne to accomplish itts accustomed length, which being prejudiciall to the poore workemen they will not be persuaded therto; for if your broker refuse, others do buy so fast as they are made.' They have, however, sent five bales, which they hope will be found satisfactory. Particulars of other cotton cloths included in the consignment, amongst them a number of stuffs and 'necannees' provided at Broach by William Martin and at Baroda by Richard Barber, the chief factors at those places. Of carpets they transmit a bale of seven forwarded from Persia, notwithstanding the Company's repeated prohibition. None will be provided in India until further order; there are, however, at Surat, two large carpets bought by Offley for the use of the factory, but far too costly for that purpose, and these (should they be unable to sell them) will be sent home next year. Particulars of the consignments of Persian silk, quilts, cotton yarn (525 bales, 'all streight reeled,' bought at Broach and Cambay), cornelian beads, spikenard, aloes Socotrina, gumlac, shashes, and three bales of cotton cloths belonging to Justinian Offley, Thomas Barker, and Richard Chamberlain, all of whom are dead. Cloves received from Batavia and now transmitted to England, including some belonging to the estate of Richard King, the late purser of the *Exchange*. Cannot understand the deficiency in the pepper sent home in the *James*. 'Garbling' [sifting] is a practice unknown in this country; but it can be done after the purchase of the pepper if the Company will send out the necessary 'instruments' and some one to direct the operation. The quantity and cost of the pepper now laden. Very little cinnamon comes to Surat, but they send 40 bales bought covertly

from a Portuguese. They have also stowed in the ships 60 bags of cotton wool. The Company's orders to furnish the names of the factors who have bought the several goods will be punctually observed. 'We have not seen any rare birds in these parts.[1] The beasts of esteeme are antilopes and other deare; which when we can light of shalbe sent you, as now a buck and two does are, on the *Palsgrave*.' The fire on that vessel (which was caused by a midshipman slipping on some pepper and dropping a lighted candle among some loose cotton) has led to some confusion in the repacking, while one bale of indigo has been stolen. A caravan coming from Ahmadābād was robbed of three bales and a part of a fourth, though a stout defence was made against the robbers. They are only now unlading the goods from England, having deferred it hitherto 'through doubt of events by the new King and new Governors comming, whose wants hath caused most monied men to hide themselves and make us cautious alsoe'. Received by the *William* a chest of coral beads, said to belong to Alderman Gore; also a chest of silver plate.[2] Neither of these was mentioned in the invoices. The Company has blamed the President and Council for employing inefficient factors; this is unfair, for they have made the best selection they could with such a limited number to choose from. To Persia last year they sent (with Mr. Burt) William Gibson, John Antill, and George Turner (chirurgeon); besides whom, Malachi Martin, purser of the *Dolphin*, and some other young men were taken on shore as writers and attendants. This year Robert Wodder was dispatched thither as accountant; also John Strethay, who had been bred a silkman. Surat factory has been supplied during this year and last by sundry men taken from the ships, viz. Arthur Suffield (purser of the *Blessing*), Ralph Cartwright (purser of the *Palsgrave*), Nicholas Woolley (purser's mate of the *Falcon*), Ralph Rand (purser's mate of the *Morris*), John Webb, and Thomas Smyth, 'writers in the office.' Of the factors arrived in this fleet Mr. Skibbow has been admitted a member of the Council, in accordance with the Company's orders; Edward Scudamore has

[1] These were probably wanted for presentation to the King; see a note at p. 199 of the 1618–21 volume.

[2] A marginal note explains that this plate had been shipped by mistake to Surat instead of Batavia, being intended for the new factory at Lagundy.

been appointed 'to follow the custome house'; Richard Predys, Nathaniel Wyche, and Crispin Blackden will be placed in the several factories; and Jeronimo de Paiva will be employed as occasion shall require. Several of 'your antient servants' would have liked to return to England; but the late-coming of the ships, the great debts outstanding, and the desirability of giving the new comers time to learn their duties, have induced Kerridge, Hopkinson, and Martin to remain another year. Unless the Company make an appointment in the interim, Kerridge's successor will be elected by 'a generall councell'. John Glanville returns home, owing to ill-health. They do not understand the reference to diamonds sent to the Company from this place, and think those received must have been prize goods. The mine found some years ago near Masulipatam has been shut up and is not likely to be re-opened, 'least itt should give edge unto the more powerfull for invasion.' 'Neare Vizapore [Bījāpur] also an ould mine doth affoard some, and the Portugalls buy of them; but that they yeild competent proffitt for you to transport we never understood.' However, they will purchase some if an opportunity occurs: but they would be glad of fuller instructions as to the sorts, &c., desired. Concerning private trade, they consider the Company's remarks unjust, seeing that the amount of trade done by the factors is small compared with that of the ships' officers. 'We do reprehend both, when we discerne any; and that hath lost some of us much love and gained little.' Resent the demand for an account of private trade on the *Anne*, 'as if all we then here were accessaries'. The Master, Eustace Man, was rich, but what private trade he carried they are wholly ignorant. Gregory Clement, who went as factor therein, had not the means to do much; and as he is now at Agra they cannot give his reply. Probably, however, the Company refer to the goods carried on behalf of native merchants. Explain that 'the last great breach twixt these inhabitants and your servants induced our uttmost indeavour to regaine their affeccions, according to your order; which by often visitings, presents, and invitacions we have obtained in an unwonted measure'. When, therefore, some of the principal merchants asked leave to send goods in the *Anne* to Batavia, pointing out that the Dutch had granted them similar privileges, it was decided to consent. 'The parties were

Cojah Jellaldine, Shawbander [Shāh-bandar] or admirall of this port, Merja Mahmud, a principall Moore merchant, who annually assisteth in the augmentacion of your Persian freight, Virgee Vora, the greatest banian merchant, and Biadrue, the constant officer and rater of your goods in custome house.' These sent sixteen bales, and received the proceeds in rials, making 40 per cent. profit. As this gave little content, owing to the fact that goods entrusted to the care of the Dutch the same year had realized 70 per cent. profit, it was determined to allow them to send a like quantity last year; and this year they have permitted the same merchants to dispatch an agent of their own with a further consignment. These courtesies have been amply repaid by the officials concerned conniving in the largely increased investments in calicoes and cotton yarn, ignoring the murmurs excited by their importations of coral, and promoting generally the peaceful passage of business. At the request of the Persia factors, permission has been accorded to a merchant from thence to proceed to Batavia for the purpose of buying China ware and rareties for the King of Persia. Licence has also been given to some natives to take their passages to and from that place, as is customarily allowed by the Dutch. Have opened the Company's letter addressed to the President and Council at Batavia, from which they were glad to hear of their intention of removing that factory. This they had already learnt from a letter left by the *London* at the Cape, which was dug up by the Dutch General Coen, and after perusal handed to Captain Hall. They are rather doubtful whether they ought to send so many goods to Batavia in the circumstances. Intend to require the early return of the *Blessing* with pepper (which is 50 per cent. cheaper at Batavia than the Deccan pepper bought here), and for this purpose have sent Scudamore as factor in the ship. Have now many more vessels than they can lade, as sugar and saltpetre are scarce and dear. 'Only cotten wooll (which you desire not much) is here plentifull to be had, but will never be proffitable lading except stived [compressed] as in Turkey; which if you enorder, be pleased to send instruments for itts effecting.' Hope that the Company will augment their trade in the Far East, and will insist on separating themselves from the Dutch, who 'begin now to reape the harvest which with costly expence you have a long time sowne'. In answer to an inquiry regarding

'coffa' [coffee], they state that 'only Mocho and the places adjacent doth yeild that seede, which serveth all Turky, Arabia, Persia, and India. The seede is usually worth there mah[mūdīs] 10 or 11 per maen, the huskes m[ahmūdīs] 5 or 6; and att comming of shipps from thence itt is vallewed here according to the scarsity or plenty, and usually sould for mah[mūdīs] 15 the seedes, and mah[mūdīs] 8 or 9 the huske, both which are usefull in making the drinke, though the one be better and dearer then the other. Of each we have sent you a sample per these shipps'. They have already given their opinion about London's Hope. 'Zela' [Zeila], 'Barbara' [Berbera], and 'Magadoxa' [Magadoxo, in E. Africa] have not been discovered, but shall be inquired about as opportunity occurs. Note the instructions about Jeronimo de Paiva, 'whose remonstrances of sundry places we have also considered'; they will advise by the next fleet 'what is likly to be performed'. Transmit Richard Wylde's answers to the Company's auditors [*see* p. 215]. Due attention will be paid to the criticisms from home on their accounts, &c. Return two dollars sent as 'musters' [samples]; these yield most profit of any silver coin. 'In landing of your gould we have saved the custome of 10,000*l.*, and purpose hereafter to continue the same course, but some part is requisitt to be passed in custome house to couler the rest. What the former, both in Amadavad and this factory, did yeild the accounts of either will shew; and mongst all we find none that vends readier or yeilds more proffitt then twenty-shilling peices English coyne.' Send the accounts for last year [i. e. 1626] duly balanced; those for this year [1627] are not balanced, owing to the Ahmadābād and Cambay accounts being in arrear. Agra and the Court are still the tardiest, and likely to be, owing to Offley's death and Bangham's backwardness. Have sharply reprehended the latter, whose neglect has made it impossible to perfect Sir Francis Crane's account. 'Your advised caution concerning the Dutch shalbe carefully observed, experience having taught us how farre to trust them. The agreement twixt us for the assigned rendevouz lasted but one yeare, which was cheifly the cause of our sending your fleete for Mohelia last yeare; wherfore you may please to omitt that agreement in your future instruccions. How we shall dispose of this your great fleete wilbe incertaine untill returne of your shipps from Persia.

The Redd Sea would yeild somthing, if feare of after question in Constantinople did not restraine. The Portugall, if God gave them, would be the surest. The *Mary*, &c., saw a carreck and a carvell,[1] which was all the supply came this yeare from Lisbone, but could not come neare them; and the *Palsgrave*, *William*, &c., that went to seeke, had not the patience to awayte so much as one day in the place they were assigned unto. Our hope of Muscatt is as little, for itt is poore, and the Persian is not to be trusted.' Should they resolve to send the fleete to Sofala or Mozambique, directions will be given to effect a junction, if possible, with the ships from England; otherwise, a small vessel will be sent to the Comoros and St. Augustine's Bay to give notice. *P.S.*[2] (*January* 12)—Intend, if practicable, to send home the *William* on her return from Gombroon, in order that their silk may come to market before the Dutch. To provide further lading, they are about to dispeed Captain Hall to Dābhol to procure a quantity of pepper. Not much indigo can be expected, as that at Ahmadābād is dear, while that at Agra cannot be brought down without great hazard, if at all. The proposed removal of the factory from Batavia has induced them to lessen the amount of commodities to be sent thither. Have decided to keep back all goods suitable for the Red Sea, for an intended voyage thither this year, 'as well to experience the Turks farther purposes as to procure ready money for provicion of goods for your home returnes.' Fifteen or sixteen Dutch sailors, who had deserted from the fleet that went to Persia, were received into the English ships, 'for the better restoring them unto their owne masters and prevent their running away unto our common enemy the Portugall.' Van den Broeck, the Dutch President, demanded their surrender; and, this being refused, 'used many depraving and immodest tearmes aboard your owne shipps concerning us.' Thereupon it was decided to let him and his Council do what they pleased about the fugitives; a few were thereupon persuaded to return, and the rest ran away. Augmentation of wages to certain men taken on shore from the ships. ($27\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

[1] See pp. 183, 185; also Herbert's *Travels* (ed. 1638), p. 11.

[2] 'Aboard the *Palsgrave* . . . ready to sett sayle from Sualy Roade.'

NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 6, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 490).

Has borrowed from 'Santidas' Rs. 10,000 at one per cent. per month, with promise to let him see any 'topha' available. This was done, partly to pay some creditors who were clamouring daily for their money, and partly to forestall the Dutch in their investment in saltpetre, of which there is but a small quantity available. Has now purchased 2,000 maunds of the best at Rs. $2\frac{1}{4}$ per maund; and could have another thousand at the same price, but it is not so good. Begs for a supply of money. (*Copy.* 1 *p. Received January* 11.)

RICHARD WYLDE'S ANSWER TO THE CRITICISMS OF THE AUDITORS, JANUARY 8, 1628[1] (*O.C.* 1266).

The book lettered K is in continuation of Mr. James's account, not a copy of it. Some apparent differences were caused by James including valueless or missing goods, since written off. Details of goods lost, stolen, or destroyed as rotten. The factories will be instructed to specify the goods, money, and debts forming the balance; and not to use fractions smaller than a pice. Promises to rewrite and correct the accounts in book L in time for the next shipping, Mr. Skibbow having been appointed to enter upon the books now in hand. Excuses the mistakes made therein, and begs the Company to have them rectified at his charges by some skilful accountant. (1 *p.*)

JAMES SLADE, MASTER OF THE *BLESSING*, AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 8, 1628 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 107).

In his letter sent last year by the Dutch he narrated his voyage from England and safe arrival here: his dispatch to Persia, where he arrived January 18, 1627, sailed again on February 18, and reached Swally on March 9: and the intended departure of the fleet for Batavia and thence round Madagascar to meet the ships from England and capture prizes. Left Swally accordingly on March 31, 1627, and ran along the coast as far as Cochin, but met

[1] Enclosed in the Surat letter of January 4 (see p. 213). The criticisms had reference to the accounts sent home by the *Great James* in 1626.

with nothing. On April 15 the *Morris* departed for Masulipatam. The rest arrived at Batavia on May 31, except the *Palsgrave*, which did not come in till June 4. Found there the *Exchange*, *Christopher*, *Eagle*, and *Falcon*, while the *Roebuck* was at Hector's Island, trimming. The first-named vessel was added to the Surat fleet, and they all sailed on June 18. They rounded the southern point of Madagascar on July 22, and six days later got into the Bay of St. Augustine. The *Exchange*, which had lost company, went to Mohilla, where she arrived on August 8. The rest sailed on August 1 and got to Mohilla nine days later. On August 28, finding no sign of the fleet from England, they left letters for them and departed for Swally, which was reached on October 5. His ship is now under orders for Batavia. Eight Dutch vessels from that port arrived at Swally on November 9, having been over three months on their voyage. Captain Hall's fleet came in on November 29, with crews very weak and sickly. They had lost the *Scout* before reaching the Comoros. Just before the coming of these ships news was received of the death of the Great Mogul. The Dutch sent home the *Dordrecht*, and their other seven vessels started for Persia on December 9. Eight days later they were followed by the *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star* (Mr. Pashley commanding her, in place of Mr. Malim, left sick at Surat); 'the Lord Cotton with Sir Robert Sherley and his lady being all in health at their departuer, the Persian embasador only dead the night they arived in sight of us.' 'There hath bin som conferrence in consultation about a place of fortification, but as yett nothing don nor resolved on where or when it may be don. Londons Hope hath bin named, but generally held unfitt, in regard of the barranesse of it, there being nothing to be had fitt for mans use, much lesse for shiping; but an excellent good harbour it is, and so good that a better could not be desired. For Bumbay wee were there last yeare with our 6 ships and 8 sayle of Dutch, in search of the Portingall gallions, but found them not. Here, after wee had bin before it 24 howers, the comanders being aboard of us resolved to goe with all our bardges and boats to vew the place, to see if wee might land without danger. After there departuer from aboard of us, it was Mr. Wills his fortune and myne to come after them in our shalloop, and after our departuer from our ships wee espied

a boate in a sandy [ ] to the westward of the forte; which boate wee resolved to fetch of. Coming n[ear] the forte, it shott divers times at us, and som smale shott plaied at us out of the corner of a wood where the boate lay. Notwithstanding, wee went aboard of her, which wee found to be one ground, and the people fledd; whereupon wee landed and, being seconded by two or three boates of men that followed us, wee martch up to the fort, which was left voyde unto us. Som of our men fired a house, by which accident the comanders perceving the successe came ashore unto us; where wee continued all night and till next day in the evening, at which time, the whole towne and fort being burnt to the ground by the Dutch and us, wee departed. This towne yealded noe benifitt to us nor the Dutch, there being nothing left in it that was worth carradge, except it were salt fish and rice, which was consumed with the fier. The rest of there goods, in regard of our long being before before [*sic*] wee had landed, they had conveyed away. This is noe good place to winter in, it being open to the westerly [ ] and noe sucker for them from the wether. What other place there [is] in this sound, which is deepe and undiscovered by any of us, to winter in is un[known] to all us then that were there present.' Dābhol he does not know; and the Maldives have never yet been discovered by any Englishman. Thinks some skilful seaman might be employed to examine them and other likely places. Their provisions were mostly very good, though the casks were exceedingly bad. A leak in the ship gave much trouble at first, but fortunately it was discovered at Batavia and stopped. (*Copy. 3 pp. Endorsed as received from Ireland on October* 2.)

JOHN VIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE OF THE *DISCOVERY* (*Marine Records*, vol. xliii. p. 51).

1628, *January* 8. The *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery* came out of Swally Hole. *January* 12. They sailed for England. *January* 14. Two boats attacked a Portuguese frigate, but were beaten off, with two men wounded. *March* 11. Saw land, which proved to be the eastern side of Madagascar. *April* 20. Made the coast of South Africa. *May* 9. Anchored off Cony Island [*see* p. 184]. *May* 12. Got into Table Bay, where they found the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin*; also the *Dove*, bound for Bantam. *May* 15.

A Dutch ship from Batavia came in.[1] *May* 19. Another Dutch ship arrived, outward bound for Batavia. *May* 21. The three English and one Hollander sailed for Europe, and the *Dove* for Bantam. *June* 13. Anchored at St. Helena. *June* 15. John Darby, master's mate, died and was buried in the chapel. *June* 17. Sailed. *June* 24. Saw Ascension. *July* 3. Crossed the Equator. *July* 9. John Johnson died. *July* 10. John Vian was made master of the *Discovery* in his place. *July* 12. John Dubler and Walter Watson appointed mates in the *Discovery*. *July* 27. Spoke a Dutch vessel from Brazil. *August* 8. The Dutch ship *Vianen*, that came in company with them from the Cape, supplied the *Discovery* with rice and bread. *August* 20. Saw the Azores. *August* 24. Spoke a Bristol privateer, under Captain Hull. *September* 12. Saw Cape Clear, in Ireland. At a consultation it was decided to continue the voyage, though the crew of the *Palsgrave* made some resistance, refusing for a time to work the vessel. Vian's men were still more mutinous, and at last it was agreed that the whole fleet should put into some harbour. *September* 13. They anchored in Ventry Bay. *October* 8. Sailed again. *October* 11. All four (including the Dutch ship) got into Cork Harbour, where three of the ringleaders of the mutiny in the *Discovery* were turned ashore. *October* 20. Having obtained provisions, they sailed again. *October* 25. Reached the Downs. *October* 27. The *Morris* arrived. *November* 1. The four ships sailed. *November* 14. Reached Erith. (41 *pp.*)

ABRAHAM SAYERS'S ACCOUNT OF TWO CRUISES IN THE *HOPEWELL* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlvi. p. 33).

1628, *January* 13. Sailed from Swally for Damān, 'to looke for a great ship that was built there; and when we came there she was not come out of the harbor.' *January* 15. About a hundred frigates from Cambay went into Damān. The *Hopewell* and *Mary* stood in as near as possible and fired at them, but could not make any prizes. *January* 20. Anchored at Swally again. *January* 24.

[1] The *Vianen*, belonging to the fleet which left Batavia in November, 1627, under the command of the late Governor-General, Pieter de Carpentier. She had lost company with the rest and, having been blown out of her course, had coasted about two hundred miles along the northern side of Australia (see Major's *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, pp. lxxxix, 45).

Sailed for Dābhol, 'to se yf we cold trade there.' [*Sketch of coast near 'St. Johnes'.*] *January* 28. Reached Dābhol. [*Sketch of coast.*] *January* 30. Sailed again. 'We could get no trade, by reson of the Portingales, which had condiciond one with the other in a great some of money (as we were told by them) not to trade with any of the In[g]les.' *February* 8. Anchored at 'Donderogerpore' [Danda-Rājpurī]. 'For the knowledg of it, you shall have an iland with a castle upon it; you shall have a rock on your starbord side as you stere in, for the towne lies a myle from the mayne.' *February* 11. Sailed. [*Two sketches of the coast.*] *February* 12. The *Hopewell*, with Captain Hall, went into Bombay Road. 'Your course lyes to steer into the bay WSW. You shall see a small castell on your larbord side; it lyes some 5 miles of you as you com in from sebord. We went in within shot of the castle, for they have 2 or 3 peces upon it, and shot at us 2 or 3 times but did not come nere us. There ar a great manie monestaries as you steer into the bottome of the bay, and salt pans, for they make salt for all the coast alongst Bombay.' [*Sketch of coast.*] *February* 14. Left. *February* 21. Arrived at Swally. (3½ *pp.*)

Another Account, by Peter Andrews in the *Mary* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlix. p. 19).

1628, *January* 12. The *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery* departed for England. *January* 13. The *Mary* and *Hopewell* sailed for Damān. *January* 15. Reached Damān. The boats tried to cut out a frigate, but she was too close to the fort. The ships fired at a 'caffiloe' of frigates arriving from Cambay. *January* 16. Another attempt to capture some of them failed; and thereupon the ships sailed for Swally. *January* 19. Anchored near that place. *January* 24. The *Mary*, *Blessing*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge* set sail. *January* 27. The *Blessing* parted company. Saw a 'caffaloe' of frigates, with a ship and a galley, but could not get near them for want of wind. *January* 28. Anchored off Dābhol. *January* 30. Seized six Malabar junks, but released them next day. *February* 1. Two boats from the shore brought cattle, &c., aboard. *February* 2. Sailed. *February* 7. The *Refuge* and a boat from the *Mary* went into 'Dandaragapore'. *February* 8. The *Mary* moved in closer to shore. *February* 9. 'Wee went ashoare uppon

the little iland. There is stones, if need bee to ballast your shipp, and oysters in abundance, as good as any cann bee. The country and the castle bee at variance. They used us kindely betweene them. Wee had three bullocks and goates from the maine, and from the castle two great bullocks with goats and henns. It seemes within to bee a most brave harbour for many shipps.' *February* 10. Sailed northwards again. *February* 12. 'Steered with a castle and place called Mayne [Māhim], and stood in within 4 myles of the castle; but Bombaye beeing some eight myles to the southward, and wee bownd thither to discover the Baye, and the *Hopewell* gone in before, wee bore upp for it about one a clock, the wind beeing then at NNW. Wee anchored about 3 a clock in the afternoone in 7 fathom of the westermost point of the going in of Bombaye. You must not come soe neere as 3 or 4 myles of this point, for it is very shoald and uneven grownd, for it is rocks; therefore, when this lowe point is E. or E. by N., steere awaye SE. till you have opened the Baye and brought it NE. by E. You must open the monastary and a rownd iland. The monastary is one the west side of the lowe land. And come not within 5 or 6 fathom of the maine side and there is no feare when the lowe point of the going in is W. or W. by S. You may anchor within the baye in 7 fathom. This daye at 3 a clock after noone wee came to an anchor. I went into the baye with the barge; and comming out, even presently after soonesett, beeing then in 4 foote water and uppon the very sharpe of the rocks, wee espied 5 friggotts lye close under the rocks for us, not little above muskett shott from us. Wee seeing them presently bore into the baye againe aboard the *Refuge* while [*sic*] the morne'. *February* 13. 'This morning I came aboard with the barge; and about 8 of the clock the Captain went in with hir and the *Hopewell*. The *Refuge* and the barge went in as farr as they could to discover the baye, and fownd it to bee a brave harbour.' *February* 14. 'This morning the barge came aboard, and the shipps came out, and soe wee sett sayle.' *February* 18. Passed Damān. *February* 21. Anchored in Swally Hole. *February* 24. The fleet from Persia, consisting of the *Exchange*, *William*, *Hart*, and *Star*, came in sight. *February* 25. They entered the Hole. (5 *pp.*)

James Slade, aboard the *Blessing* at Swally, to the President and Council at Surat, January 15, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 493).

Regrets the errors notified in the letter brought by Mr. Rand. Knows not where to look for the missing bales, and is loth to upset the cargo by a general search. Has taken aboard the Moors' goods this day, together with all the provisions; and can sail whenever ordered to do so. Lead put on board the *Refuge*. This morning stopped a boat that came from Cambay with the 'caphila'; requests instructions for its disposal. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

The Same to the Same, January 16, 1628 (*Ibid*., p. 494).

In obedience to their orders he has released the boat. Sent them a letter last night by Mr. Rand. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

Nathaniel Mountney at Ahmadābād to the Same, January 16, 1628 (*Ibid*., p. 499).

Has been obliged to return 7,000 of the rupees borrowed of 'Santidas', as they proved 'to bee of the cauzanna [*see* p. 33] and therefore unusefull for our occasions, in reason noe mann will receave them without great losse'. With the rest he has satisfied the neediest of their creditors, and 'given impresse' for the saltpetre. Cannot obtain further credit, and will find it difficult to carry out their orders to buy all the saltpetre available; however, he has taken steps to secure all that is likely to be ready by the time the ships return from Persia. Sends two samples of sugar, of which a good quantity may always be had here; the one sort costs 36½ rupees, the other 37, per ten maunds of forty seers, 'without disturie' [*see* p. 32]. Has bespoken 500 maunds of the better sort, subject to their approval. The gold they propose to send from Surat will come to a bad market. The Dutch have pawned theirs, to take up money at interest, rather than sell at the present price. Letters dispeeded to Agra. (*Copy*. 1¼ *pp*. *Received January* 20.)

William Minors, aboard the *Refuge* at Swally, to the President at Surat, January 18, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 497).

Lead taken on board. Most of the goods of the *Mary* will be laden to-day, but he cannot find room for those of the frigate. Trusts that the President, 'whome I have ever found my worshipfull good frend,' will bear in remembrance the wrong Minors formerly received. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

James Slade at Swally to the Same, January 18, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 497).

Protests that the President gave him verbal orders to ship the Moors' goods, even if they had to leave out Bastian's [*see* p. 223]. Regrets the misunderstanding, and offers to put them all ashore again. *P.S.*—The *Mary* and *Hopewell* are in sight. *Enclosed:* List of Moors' goods aboard the *Blessing*. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

The Same to the Same, January 20, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 499).

Thanks him for his letter, 'which hath satisfied my troubled mynde.' Hopes no further goods will be sent down, as the ship is stowed. The quicksilver has been put on board the *Mary*. Messrs. Predys and Jeronimo have gone to Surat. Captain Hall is well, and sends his commendations. The ships are in the outer road. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, John Skibbow, and George Page at Surat to the President and Council at Batavia or Bantam, January 20, 1628 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 439).

Now answer their letters of June 18 and July 24, the former brought by the *Palsgrave* on October 1, and the latter by the Dutch fleet on October 28. Regret to learn their troubles with the Dutch, and the absence of supplies from England. Think that the only remedy for the exactions of 'thes our insulting frinds' (especially as Coen has again been sent out 'in highest authority') lies in a complete separation; and trust, therefore, that they have

effected the transfer to Bantam ordered by the Company. Comment on other items of intelligence from Batavia. Loss of weight in cloves, which have been transmitted to England, for want of purchasers here. Sandalwood still less vendible. Particulars of goods now sent on the *Blessing*, at a cost of 227,597 mahmūdīs, 8⅜. Have kept back part of the intended cargo with a view to the dispatch of a ship to the Red Sea. If a small vessel would be of any utility, they could spare them the *Refuge*, of about 80 tons, as she is not required at Surat. 'Ouer desier of uniting forces with the Dutch must cease, seing they are scruplous and false. Our owne shipping, by Gods favore and mercy, will (we trust) be sufficient for our defence, especially now that His providence hath greatly eased us of that care by the losse of three [of] our ennemies gallions in their last years repaire towards Muscatt and the evell condition of three others, whom a storm att entrance of the westerly munzone cut their masts by the board and ar not yett repaired.' Useless expenditure at Masulipatam on the *Abigail*. Do not wonder that the Company are discouraged at the failure of 'the sotherne trade', owing to the oppressions of the Dutch. Account of the cruise of the fleet to the Comoros last year. Captain Morton has been allowed the same rank as the other commanders, and is now gone for Persia with the *Star* as his vice-admiral. They hear that the *Morris* did not leave Armagon till August 14; trust she has safely reached them. As desired, have taken no steps to recover the stores lent to the Dutch, though 'their prid and ingratitude deserve not so ample courtesies'. Note the piece of brass ordnance taken out of the *William* for presentation to the King of Macassar. Trouble given by the passengers on the fleet. Express surprise that they have not yet received any account of the bales sent on behalf of certain merchants here. Have now allowed the latter to ship three servants with more goods; beg that they may be well treated, as their masters have it in their power to hinder much the Company's affairs. Will in future refuse such applications. A Persian merchant, recommended by the factors in Persia, has also been permitted to take passage in the ship; also 'Sebastian Fiorin [1], an Itallian of antient acquaintance', who has been long resident here. Request that the proceeds

[1] For whom see the 1618–21 volume, pp. 223, 291, where he is called Fiorino.

of the goods sent in the *Palsgrave* may be returned to Surat in gold by this ship. Were glad to hear of the safe arrival in England of the *James* and *Jonas*. Doubt not that they have already learned that the *Charles* and *Hart* have also got home. 'We have sent you so many saylors of these parts [lascars] as could be had, intertained for two yeres stay in your sirvice after their arivall with you.' Slaves may no doubt be got at the Comoro Islands, should they still require some. The *Blessing* will spare part of her supply of biscuit, if necessary. Private trade is increasing; and 'being so generall a case some assist, most connive, and all forbeare inqueisicion'. The President and Council, 'our residence being so farr remote from the Mareen,' can do little to stop it, and until the Company 'from authority of state' take more active measures, it cannot be checked. Of late the Gujarātīs have sent few ships to Achin; the factors there resident will be best able to advise as to suitable commodities. 'Rarieties we have few to send'; but they will receive some Broach baftas for use as presents, besides some 'fine shashes or turbants'. The dyers here do not dye such purples as are required. A case of satins has also been forwarded, and cloth of gold and tapestry would have been sent had it been certain that they would be acceptable. Some very fine dyed calicoes (and possibly some white) will be obtained and dispatched to them by the Dutch ships. The Dutch fleet mentioned in their letters reached Swally on October 25 [*sic*], and sailed again for Persia on December 10. A few days after the departure of these ships, sixteen or eighteen of the Dutch sailors presented themselves at Swally, and begged to be employed in the English fleet. It was at first decided to grant their request, in order to prevent their running away to the Portuguese; but on Van den Broeck's peremptory demand this intention was abandoned. Three or four of the deserters agreed to return to their duty; the rest refused, swam ashore, and fled. Note the dispeeding of the *Expedition* for England. Approve 'your propositions for the continuacion and increase of trade in those parts', and have recommended them to the favourable consideration of the Company; they think the latter, 'if the Kings Majestie doe affoard protexione, wilbe induced to farther tryal, but without his favore, and redresses of the Dutches insulting, your trade will not be free, and con-

sequently unable to defray so great a charge and adventure; and so not only that but this also, and the dependances on either, will fall togeather.' Clark and Fisher, master's mates in the *Exchange*, refuse to pay the amount due to the estate of the late 'Kudrian'[1]; and the former has claimed a share of the effects on behalf of a woman whom 'Kudrian' had betrothed in England and left in Clark's house. The matter shall be further considered on his return from Persia. Captain Morton avers that he gave satisfaction for the money owing to Barlow, and that this is known to Messrs. Muschamp and Steel. If the amount alleged to be due from Clark and Fisher is payable in England, it cannot be demanded here. 'Itt is also our custome to bring deceased mens estate to the Companies account, according to their order; as latly we have done our house stewards.' The latter had an adventure with Gabriel Kennicot, purser's mate of the *Christopher*; request that the proceeds may be recovered from Kennicot, and remitted to the Company. The fleet from England, consisting of the *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge*, arrived on November 30. They had lost the *Scout* near the Comoro Islands, and nothing has been heard of her since. The *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star* sailed for Persia on December 16, 'and in them an embasadore from the Kings Majestie to the King of Persia, with Sir Robeart Sherley and his lady; but the Persian embassadore lived only to se the coast of India and then dyed. The cavidall for Persia was farr lesse then is there expected, and, in regard of late contracts with the King for the importing as well of spetie as comodities, in lieu of content will, wee feare, give distast. To us they were more ample, and yett all to little, our ingagements before theire arivall exeding 35,000*l.* sterling; whereby we have by Gods providence returned the *Palesgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery* full laden, who set sayle from hence in company the 12 current, and we hope the Lord will send them to arive seasonably at home. The Dutch sent one shippe, and gave her dispatch 30 dayes before ours could be ready, through an unhappie accident of fier that partly caused their detencion by discharg of more than 300 bales [of] goods from the *Palsgrave*; wherein Gods judgment was threatned for our sinnes, but revoked through His mercye, even as they were redie

[1] Also called 'Elias Kudryan' (see p. 276, and the Court Minutes of August 27, 1628).

to cut cable in the haulse and runn her on shore. Other distraccions hapned before and since the same time through the Grand Mogull his discease; for sundry compettitors aiminge at the succession, and non of them as y[e]tt accepted in generall, gave liberty to each to gather head, and ill humores of the land to breake out; and yet not in so great measure as might well have beene expected in so large a continent, for the chieff citties and townes are kept in quiett; only petty robberies disquiet passengers and hinder trade. The said King deaseased in his returne from Cashmer to the more temperat clyments [*sic*] of his kingdome the first of November last; whoe having a sonne called Sheriare, then at Lahore, whether the King was journying, that had marryed the daughter of the predominate Queene, he seised the citty, castell, and treasure therein, and littell doubted, with the assistance of his mother-in-law and freinds, to have attained the kingdome also. But the ould Kings counselore [*sic*], having other ends, sett up and supported his grandchild Bullaquee, being indubitate heire according to the customes of most nations, although his father weere murthred some yeares sinc by a third brother, Sultan Charoom, that with a puisant army sought also to subvert his owne father, wherin he not only fayled but was expulsed his fathers territories, and lived on the frontiers of Decan, not many dayes journy from this place, greatly dejected, untill of late that the second brother, Sultan Parveis, deceased in Brampoore, and a discontented nobleman, Mahobett Chan, whoe had been the only preserver of the ould King and persecuter of this Prince, through irreconsileable differenc with the Queene adhered unto him in his extreamest neede; which, with the assurance of frinds in court, gave him incurragment againe to demand the kingdome. He cam first hither, and was aftter reacevied in Amadavad, the head cittye of this province; whenc he is proceeded towards Agra and Dillee, the royall seate; whilest the grandchild, assisted by the nobles aforementioned, fought with Sheriar and overcame him in battaill, and is in all liklyhood with devices (being a youth) deteined in Lahoare with the title of a King, only that Charoom may peacablely enter Agra and posses himself of the infienite treasure and royaltyes of the kingdome, there constantly reserved.' Have not yet decided upon the disposal of the fleet when it returns from Persia. Their

present idea is to send home the *William* towards the end of the year with the silk expected from that country and some Indian goods. The *Exchange* and the *Blessing*, both of which are old and have been long in the Indies, they propose to dispatch together to England next year 'at a good season'; but they are short of means to procure lading for them, and must therefore press for a speedy return for the commodities now sent. In any case they expect to have this ship returned with a lading of pepper; 'which indeed were necesarye to be sent us yerely in like quantetie to stow amongst our bales, in that we here doe paye for the pepper of these parts 50 per cento more then itt is worth with you—an intollerable losse, seing itt might well be saved if there were dew correspondence from you to us; wherin if you fayle, a greater prejudice will also follow, for wee shalbe constrayned to send the *Exchange* unto you to seeke her lading, whoe in case of your performance shalbe the first of our care to dispeed from hence.' To further the early disposal of the cargo of the *Blessing* they have sent Edward Scudamore as merchant of her; but he is to return to Surat in her without fail. 'We shalnot be wanting to your future supply, if you accomplish with us; whereas otherwise you will receave no more commodities from hence untill expresly inordered by the Company.' They have stowed in the *Discovery* 5,000 maunds of Bantam pepper, which they bought from private traders in the fleet at 12 mahmūdīs the maund. At this price the sellers gained nearly 40 per cent., which might have been saved had a supply been provided on the Company's account. Will be glad to send them any ships they may require, either great or small. *P.S.* (23rd)—Have now put on board the *Blessing* twelve pieces of fine narrow calicoes from Broach, and will dispatch the same number of fine blues by the Dutch ships. Inquire what sorts of 'shashes' they want. Forward 'two written books sent forth by the Honorable Company, one entituled the Dutch Remonstranc, and thother the English answer, both concerning the butchery of our people at Amboyna'.[1] A packet of letters for various individuals is also sent. (*Copy*. 15 *pp*.)

[1] For these two pamphlets see the *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1625–29, pp. 306, 308, &c.

Gregory Clement, John Bangham, Robert Clitherow, Ralph Cartwright, and John Goodwin at Agra to the President and Council at Surat, January 21, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 514).

Have bought 193 fardles of indigo at $32\frac{1}{2}$ to 35 rupees per maund, and would gladly have taken all the old indigo remaining (250 fardles), but the owners demand ready money. The Dutch too would have bought it, but they are deeply indebted for 500 fardles already purchased and cannot get credit ; it is said that they have orders to buy 1,000. The arrival of their ships before the English has given them a great advantage. Hope to borrow enough money to buy saltpetre and sugar. Clement will remain here, as ordered. Cartwright's time is expired, but he is willing to continue if his salary of 24*l.* per annum be increased to at least 60*l.* 'and augmenting'. Clitherow is inclined to go to Surat ; and Bangham and Goodwin will take the caravan thither. Fear it cannot start 'untill Corooms arrivall within this cittie ; who was proclaimed King here the 7th current, amraws[1] from all parts repairing to him ; who some four daies past was in Asmeere, not yet certenlie knowne whither hee will come first for this place or thence to Dillie ; questionles after hither, if not before. The [visit of the ?] Presedent with the monies lent the King cannott chuse butt bee a great furtherance to all our masters affaires in these parts, having made way for us all by laying hould on so good oportunitie'. Were glad to hear of the arrival of the ships. On receiving a list of the goods they brought, word will be sent what is likely to sell here. Cloves are now 138 Jahāngīr rupees per maund. Think that jewels, broadcloth, tapestry, and mercery wares would sell if the court settles in this city. 'Donge,' their linguist, is paid 36 rupees per month. Beg a speedy supply of money to pay their debts, as the charges for interest are heavy ; also for the purchase of indigo and other goods. About 50,000 rupees will be required in all. Consider that the caravan had better go by way of Burhānpur, under the charge of a peon, unless it be thought essential to send one of the factors. *P.S.* (23rd)— 'Understanding of Shaw Jehaun his neere approach to the cittie

[1] Nobles (Arabic *umarā*, pl. of *amīr*).

Agra, wee addressed ourselves to meet him, carrying with us a small present (being on the 22th present); and some nine course of the cittie, attending His Majesties coming out of a garden, wee weare fortunatelie admitted to his presence, and the present by him accepted to our great content, especiallie in regard wee weare the first Christians that saluted him or mett him att his coming hither, noe other as yet having had the like benefitt or opportunitie. Att the delivery of the foresaid present Meir Moza (as then unknowne to us) was by his pallenkeen, who taking notice of us spake in our behaulfes, promising to assist us in whatsoever wee should have occasion to use him. The next morning, being the 23th, hee with his trayne verry sumptuoslie came into the cittie, not going to the castle but to his former pallace, which is neer unto the riverside.[1] Wee intend this next day following to vissitt Mauhobet Caun, now called by the name of Caun Chaunna,[2] who (as it is reported) is to governe towards Brampore.' Intend to solicit a farmān for the caravan, which will start in ten days, whether the Dutch are ready or not. Fear that the dispatch of new governors to the various provinces may cause some difficulty in procuring camels. Will advise them of the departure of the caravan in due course. (*Copy. 4 pp. Received February* 15.)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel West, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Broach to the Same, January 21, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 500).

After leaving them 'att the river of Bereau'[3] on Saturday night they on the following day in the evening crossed the 'river of Baroch' [the Narbadā]. Lodged in the customhouse for the night, and to-day cleared their goods, depositing those intended for

[1] Apparently this building has not been identified. De Laet (p. 277) says that Shāh Jahān 'in proprio palatio, quod loco amoenissimo ad ripas Gemenae flu. condiderat, tantisper subsedit, donec auspicato die in arcem ingrederetur, et thronum regium occuparet'.

[2] Mīrzā Khān, Khānkhānān, had died a short time before; and the title was now transferred to Mahābat Khān, in recognition of his services to the new emperor.

[3] The Tāptī. Variao is on the northern bank, about three miles from Surat on the road to Broach.

Cambay and Ahmadābād in the 'seraglia',[1] and handing over to Mr. Martin those for Broach and Baroda. Think Tottle might be employed in other duties. Intend to start to-morrow 'by way of Bilparr',[2] after bribing the customs official not to examine their packages. Having opened a letter from Ahmadābād mentioning that gold is in disesteem there, Hopkinson and West propose to dispose of their stock in Cambay, keeping their rupees for the former place. (*Copy. 1 p. Received January* 22.)

WILLIAM MARTIN AND JEREMY SHUKER AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 23, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 501).

Hopkinson, Martin, and the rest arrived in safety with their goods. Yesterday Hopkinson and West left for Cambay and Ahmadābād, and Richard Southaike started for Baroda. Of his money, 10,000 mahmūdīs were made over by exchange, and the remaining 2,000 he took with him. The markets here are very 'slender' and cloth is dear, as not only the Dutch are buying, but also brokers of this town are investing for Mokha. Have purchased 500 pieces of narrow bafta and 200 broad cloths, besides 60 or 70 maunds of cotton; for the rest they are waiting till prices fall. The Governor has not yet returned from Jāmbusar. (*Copy. 1 p. Received January* 24.)

NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE SAME, JANUARY 23, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 503).

Particulars of the investment. 'Chuppra lack' [*chapra lākh*: shell-lac] is plentiful, but money must be given beforehand for its refining. Sends samples of 'russlack [*ras lākh*: crude lac] and that upon sticks'; the price of the former is 3¼, and that of the latter is 3, rupees per maund. Samples are also forwarded of Sarkhej indigo, one lot being priced at 14 to 15 rupees per maund, the rest at about 75 rupees per fardle of four maunds and seven seers. There is also some old indigo to be had. Will provide quilts and green ginger, as ordered. Refers to his former letter regarding saltpetre and sugar. Jam Qulī Beg arrived four days ago and is

[1] The *sarāī* or lodging-house for travellers.
[2] Possibly Bhilāpur, 10 miles south-east of Baroda.

expected to leave shortly. No news from Agra. The Dutch are buying freely. They report that an English caravan has started from Surat. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Received January* 29.)

RICHARD BARBER AT BARODA TO THE SAME, JANUARY 27, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 502).

Southaike arrived on the 24th, bringing in bills and cash 12,000 mahmūdīs. The vest of satin has been duly received, and will be kept till an opportunity occurs for its presentation. Will proceed with the investment, trusting to receive a further supply of money at their convenience. 'Report saith the Prince is advanced beyond Adgmeere, but goeth slowly on, as doubting his entertaynemente.' (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Received January* 29.)

WILLIAM MARTIN AND JEREMY SHUKER AT BROACH TO THE SAME, JANUARY 30, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 505).

The Dutch are still buying, but only 'narrow cloth'. This is some hindrance to the English investment. Have forwarded the Surat letter to Southaike, who has reached Baroda safely. Fear they cannot make any remittance to that place, as the 40,000 mahmūdīs received have already been mostly spent and a further supply will soon be needed. Propose to provide 500 bales of cotton yarn. Cost of the fine narrow baftas recently supplied; more will be sent shortly. The Governor has not yet returned, but this they do not regret, because, although he is a good man, 'hee hath a wicked company about him, who when they are here are still troubling of our people.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received January* 31.)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON, NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY, NATHANIEL WYCHE, AND WILLIAM FREMLEN AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE SAME, JANUARY 31, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 507).

Announce their arrival. Called on the way at Cambay; and finding that their gold could only be got rid of at a sacrifice, they have brought it on. Letters received here from Ajmer, written a fortnight ago, aver that 'Caroom is certainly entred Agra, and that peace is made twixt him and Dower Bux [Dāwar Bakhsh],

to whome hee hath sent his daughter for marriage and hath given him Sucker and Bucker and some other province[s?] adjoyning, with the pay of 40 thowsand horse.[1] It is also said that many Rashboats [Rājpūts] are joyned with Caroom, who formerly held of for feare of Mauhobett Caun. This cittie is in quiett estate, Naer Caun being Governour, Mirza Muckey Dewan [*see* p. 189], and Caphaiett Caun[2] Buckshee [Bakhshī]. What money is coyned in this towne bares the stampe of Shawselim,[3] by the Princes owne order att his being here, till hee bee crowned in Dillie; so that the quoyning of money in Surrat under his name is affirmed to bee done by the Governour there without his order; neither will they passe here without some losse'. Their creditors are clamorous for payment, but all the supply now brought will not suffice for this purpose; urge a further remittance, as goods cannot be bought except for ready money. Indigo has risen in price; this year's crop at Sarkhej is estimated to make 8,000 maunds. Had intended to keep the 'ablucks'[4] for sale here, as ordered by the President; but their 'cavellerous'[5] refused to return without them and so the point has been yielded. *P.S.*—'It is reported by some that have seene certaine letters written Naer Caun and Caphaett Caun by their intelligencers in Bullochies court that Caun Conna,[6] Mauhobet Cauns eldest sonne, comyng in the Kings presence and finding Assaph Caun setting with him, omitted the customable salam[7] and so returned; whereat the King admiring sent for him back againe and demanded the reason thereof; to whome hee answered hee knew not to whome to salam, Assaph Caun and hee sitting togeather, urging that if hee weare King why Assaph Caun should sitt and all the rest of the ambraws [*see* p. 228] stand, and wherefore any such difference should bee in acknowledgemente of their duties; and after some further interchange of speech[e]s demanded of Assaph Caun who hee thought was King, who answered

[1] This was all false.

[2] Kifāyat Khān (see the 1622–23 volume, p. 218).

[3] Shāh Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr. The reference to the premature coining of money at Surat in the name of Shāh Jahān is interesting.

[4] Arabic *ablaq*, a piebald (horse).

[5] Portuguese *cavalleiro*, a rider.

[6] This seems to be a mistake for Khānazād Khān (see note on p. 204). The writer has confused him with his father, the Khānkhānān (p. 229).

[7] Salutation (Arabic *salām*, 'peace').

Shaw Jehaun; and when Caun Conna replied againe that they had all taken their oaths to the contrary to the deceased King, Assaph Caun answered that their promise was performed and that they had acknowledged him [i.e. Dāwar Bakhsh (Bulāqī)] for King; but, saith hee, in one moneth hee hath given away 32 lecks of rup[ees], which should have been preserved for other uses, and that hee was to young to govern so large territories; and withall shewed him his father Mauhobett Cauns letter in behaulfe of Caroom, and demanded if hee had more understanding then his father; to which hee answered that if his father runn a contrary course his sword should bee the first upon him. And so repairing to Bullockie (much dejected and cast downe) into a private chamber, asked him if hee saw his owne danger, and tould him hee would bee putt in irons within a few daies if hee prevented it not; and therefore betwixt them concluded that hee should alwaies goe three course behinde Caun Conna, and to prevent future prodigallitie hee should resolve with himselfe to bee more frugall in expences and more sparing in gifts. They are now said to bee advanced on this side Dillie, being neere 80,000 horse and a greater nomber of foote. Caroom is said to bee a daies journey or two beyond Adgmere, having not above 15,000 horse, and (as it is whispered) upon returne hither againe; whome Ṇaer Caun and Caun Jehaun (as some say) doe intend to resist and incounter, now they see fortune is averse to him, Naer Caun being sorry hee was the cause of his comyng hither, seing the event proves noe better. Caun Jehaun to this purpose hath sent his eldest sonne to Baroch, and in all jaggeers [*jāgīrs*] of his in this province, even in Nariad, the dawy[1] [?] of Bullockie is used.' (*Copy.* 2½ *pp. Received February* 6.)

Nathaniel West at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, February 1, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat,* vol. cii. p. 507).

He and Hopkinson reached Cambay on Friday last. The latter did not stop, but, having received from West the 'double pistoletts'

[1] Mr. Beveridge thinks that this is the Arabic *dawā*, 'a call or invocation,' meaning that in the *khutba* (see p. 240) the name of Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh) was used as that of the reigning sovereign.

[*see* p. 156], returned to his company and proceeded by way of 'Mateer' [Matar, near Kaira] to Ahmadābād. Having finished his business in Cambay, West left in company with the Dutch, and has just arrived here. Will send his accounts in a few days. Requests instructions about some knives. Robert Tottle should be credited with 56 rupees. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.* *Received February* 3.)

Gregory Clement, John Bangham, Robert Clitherow, Ralph Cartwright, and John Goodwin at Agra to the President and Council at Surat, February 1, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 519).

Have received the letter of credit for 20,000 rupees, but find it useless; for one thing, Vīrjī Vōra's wakīl has no money to lend at present; and for another, when he has, he will exact three, if not four, per cent. 'bottowe' [Hind. *batta*, 'discount' or 'difference in exchange'], which is far too high. Beg that bills of exchange may be sent instead. 'Wee are counselled by Meir Moza and other frends not to stirr with our caphila untill Shaw Jehaun hath sett on his royall tackt [Pers. *takht*, a throne], which is intended the 4th present; hoping then, through the sending his amraws [*see* p. 228] abroad to settle the kingdome, the wayes wilbee passable, which att present are so dangerous hereabouts that noe mann dares adventure. Here are great quantities of goods, besides many people, that attend an opportunitie of sending, not onlie for Guzeratt and Brampore, but all other parts. Wee for our parts will goe with the first.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.* *Received February* 20.)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the Same, February 5, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 510).

Have received their bills for 5,500 mahmūdīs, but need more money, 'our marketts being now quick.' Cotton yarn is about the same price as last year; they will buy 500 maunds. Will take care in the bleaching, drying, and packing of the cloth. The fine narrow baftas required for the southwards have been bought, and will be 'putt out to dying'. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received February* 6.)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON, NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY, NATHANIEL WYCHE, AND WILLIAM FREMLEN AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE SAME, FEBRUARY 6, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 511).

As for their English gold, the highest offer here is 20½ and 22½ mahmūdīs for the 20*s.* and 22*s.* pieces, whereas at Surat they were worth about 22 and 24 mahmūdīs; so they intend to return them if they can get other money instead, though the solicitations of their creditors are incessant. Beg an early remittance. Provision of gum-lac, quilts, conserves, saltpetre, &c. 'The reason of this unexpected cheapnes of gold is partelie through the quantitie of sunneas [1] latelie quoyned and resting unsould in menns hands, the danger of the way twixt this and Agra also deterring transportacion; but principallie that here are now noe great menn who buy it upp, as in the tyme of Scieff Caun and Caun Jehauns people. It is also supposed by many, and not without reason, that Shaw Jehaun wilbee King, Agra being yeilded unto him, with the castle; for which cause upon its newes the Governour here three daies since, vizt. on Satterday last, comanded the Kings nobutts [2] to bee beaten upp; and if hee bee King hee will have noe need of gould, having enough in his treasury, which hee must open for gratifying his frends and soldiers. Also the *Mussai* and *Saphee*,[3] two juncks which should have arrived four moneths since from Judda, are expected within 15 daies, which will make gould cheaper then it now is.' Think, therefore, that it may be well to get rid of their stock at current prices. 'Sunneas' are not worth above Rs. 13 each; Hungary ducats, Rs. 13 per tolā; 'pistoletts, Dutch riders, and albertines' [*see* p. 156], Rs. 11 : 3 : 4 pice per tolā (the rupee at 51 pice). At present Surat rupees pass only at a loss of 1½ pice, though of the same weight and fineness as the 'sickaj' [4]; but, as they are full value at Cambay, it is thought that the Governor will in a few days allow them to pass current here also. The parcel of sugar of which samples were sent cannot now be had; but a caravan of 10,000

[1] Gold mohurs; cf. 'vast sumes of gold in mores or sunnies' (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 326). Apparently the word is derived from the Hind. *sonā*, 'gold.'

[2] Hind. (from Arabic) *naubat*, the palace music.

[3] Perhaps the *Mūsā* ('Moses') and *Safī* ('Peace').

[4] *Sic.* The *sikkā* rupee, for which see the 1618–21 volume, p. 113, may be meant.

oxen, bringing sugar, 'jagra,'[1] wheat, &c., is reported to be approaching from Agra, and they hope to buy some upon its arrival. In consequence of the Company's complaint, the details of the purchases made last year at Dholka have been examined, and they are taking steps to punish the brokers, who were the guilty parties. In future they will look carefully to the length and breadth of the dutties. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.* *Received February* 10.)

William Burt, John Benthall, Robert Wodder, and Robert Loftus at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 6, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 529).

The fleet arrived January 6. Answer various points in the letters thus received. The strict orders against 'coullering[2] of Moores goods' have had a satisfactory effect, though they cannot control the Dutch, who are very dishonest in this respect. Thank them for sending Mr. Wodder to be accountant. Death of George Bedford and Charles Sterne. Return of Messrs. Benthall and Martin. Salary of Mr. Williamson. Are glad that no Indian goods were sent them, as they are under an obligation to bring one-fourth of their capital in ready money; and besides, the Red Sea and Bantam provide more profitable opportunities for the sale of such goods than this country. Explain their reasons for drawing bills on Surat. As this is resented, they will in future borrow instead, though they have now given a bill on Surat to an Italian named 'Dominico Corrado', at his earnest request. Concerning Ormus, Muskat, &c., they refer to the enclosed letter to the Company. They have persistently solicited the King, but with little effect. The Company intend to inquire into the cowardly conduct of Captain Blyth and Tozier.[3] John Antill will be advised of the increase in his salary. Weighing, &c., of goods. Will follow strictly the Company's orders. Have taken ashore the merchandise sent in this fleet. The money received out of the customs is by no means sufficient for their needs. Will do their best to keep down ex-

[1] Port. *jagra* (ultimately from Sanskrit *sarkarā*), a coarse sugar made from the sap of the palm-tree.

[2] i. e. passing them free through the customhouse under the pretence that they belonged to an Englishman.

[3] William Tozer, master of the *Palsgrave*.

penses. 'The Persian and Turke appeare unreconcileable enimies, infesting each others territories; but daylie reports manifest the Persians subtill pollicie doth prevaile on the Turks mightie and nomberlesse multitudes. This King having some four moneths [ago?], wheather from a conscious feare of like reward merritted by his owne former proceed with his brother for obtayneing the soveraignetie or other barbarous jealousies, inhumanely hath added to the nomberless terrours of his conscience the death of his owne and onlie sonne, causing his eyes to bee cut fourth with a rasour; whose owne child was a spectatour of his fathers misery, whome in his rage hee bereaved of life, as afterward did unto himselfe by poysonous pills; the King having since sent for the sonne of Merza Sophie [Mīrzā Safī][1], who was elder brother to the last unfortunate prince, who also was bereaved of life by the same cruell hand. What the present speakes of is the Turks reattempting the surprize of Bagdatt, on whome the Kings eyes are cast by his neere reside unto those parts. The Duke of Shiraze, as wee are crediblie informed, designed for Balsara [Basrā] with 8,000 menn.' Thank them for their news of the occurrences in India. Acquiesce in the detention of the *Mary*, &c., though they have been shamed thereby, 'having from our masters advices reported both to the King and Chaun that wee should expect to the nomber of 6 or 7 shipps purposelie designed by them for the surprize of Muskatt.' As regardes that designe, 'I see no possibillitie for the attempting of anything ourselves and, when the Hollanders shall goe more roundlie to worke, as little hope of preventing them.' Have advised the Khān of the assistance given at Surat to his pinnace the *Primrose*. Is-hāq Beg has been treated with respect and courtesy, but he is very friendly to the Dutch, whom he has helped largely in obtaining freight goods. Estate of Naqd Beg, the late ambassador. As for the English ambassador and 'my Lord Sherley', Mr. Benthall will report their proceedings. Send some rosewater, pistachios, and almonds, as desired; and request some rice, sugar, wax candles, &c., in return. Two horses also sent. Supply of red earth from Ormus. 'The intel-

[1] See the story in Herbert's *Travels* (ed. 1638, p. 173). According to him, the Prince's name was 'Codobanda [Khudā-banda] Sultan' and that of his daughter, whom he slew in a frenzy, 'Fatyma.' Herbert says that the Prince had been blinded by drawing 'a flaming steele afore his eyes'.

legence wee have here of the wrack of the Portugalls fleet accords with yours, which gives presumpcion it may bee a truth: wee having been crediblie informed of the repaire of 4 of them unto Muskatt, the most of them towed in by Ruy Fereroes friggotts, not having one mast standing, one of them being inforced to cast overboard all hir ordnance. Of their present estate wee cannott obtaine the relacion.' As directed, they have dispeeded the fleet before the Hollanders, who are not likely to start for fifteen days longer. Have laden on the ships 782 bales of silk. Beg that the Surat factors will advise the Company to push the Persian trade energetically or drop it altogether; 'for on the termes it is nowe followed wee rather reape disgrace then benefitt.' John Hughes recommended for an increase of salary. Mr. Turner leaves in these ships. *P.S.*—Commend Mr. Benthall. (*Copy.* 11¼ *pp.* *Received February* 24.)

Richard Barber and Richard Southaike at Baroda to the President and Council at Surat, February 7, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 510).

Bills of exchange for 3,500 mahmūdīs received. 'Wee are glad the Company doth like the comodity of this place.' Have already bought 1,500 pieces of cloth, costing 4,000 mahmūdīs. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.* *Received February* 9.)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, and Nathaniel Wyche at Ahmadābād to the Same, February 10, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 518).

Forward a letter from Agra. Surat coins now pass here at one-half per cent. loss, but the Governor has promised to make them current at the same value as the 'siccaj' [*see* p. 235]. Request an invoice of the treasure they brought. *P.S.*—Would be glad to have also the invoice of Captain Leate's jewels. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.* *Received February* 14.)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the Same, February 12, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 513).

Tottle arrived yesterday with 9,000 rupees and bills for 6,000 more. Difficulty about payment of one of these bills. Tottle and

his party were provided with coaches and left last night for Baroda. Have bought 500 maunds of cotton yarn and have packed most of it. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.* *Received February* 14.)

RICHARD BARBER AND RICHARD SOUTHAIKE AT BARODA TO THE SAME, FEBRUARY 16, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 519).

Tottle and his companions arrived on the 12th, bringing 10,000 rupees, which shall be duly invested. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* *Received February* 18.)

GREGORY CLEMENT, JOHN BANGHAM, ROBERT CLITHEROW, RALPH CARTWRIGHT, AND JOHN GOODWIN AT AGRA TO THE SAME, FEBRUARY 17, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 553).

Have been obliged to borrow at two per cent., besides one-half per cent. 'buttow' [*see* p. 234], in order to pay their camelmen; but they have found no opportunity of dispatching the caravan, nor in any case would their creditors allow the goods to leave until they have been paid. It will be too late to catch the homewards bound shipping, and instructions are therefore requested as to what is to be done. In future they will not make any investment until they have money or bills in hand, 'it not standing for the reputacion of our nacion' to trade on borrowed money, as they are now doing. The Dutch are in as bad a case. 'Bimgee' [Bhīmjī] has arrived, but declares that they must not depend on him for a pice. 'Wee are perswaded it was onlie Virga Voras titallie [Hind. *thathōlī*, jesting or pretence], never intending its accomplishment.' As for purchasing sugar and saltpetre, nothing can be done without ready money. 'In that there hath been fewe buyers formerlie of saltpeter, people forbeare making it'; but they hope to get 1,000 bales before the rains. Send, 'sealed upp in two canes,'[1] Justinian Offley's journal and ledger duly balanced; also an inventory of his estate, together with his goods and papers. Are in great want of an honest broker, and would be glad if one could be sent up. Those previously employed here 'prove verry knaves and traytours

[1] A piece of a bamboo cane cut off below a joint and then sealed at the top. Until the general introduction of glass bottles, these easily made receptacles were commonly used for the conveyance even of liquids.

to our bussines'; while 'Dongee' refuses to serve except in his present post of linguist. They have little or no warehouse-room and are obliged to lay all goods they buy 'under the chuppers' [Hind. *chhappar*, a thatched roof]. Request permission for 'raysing of a tarrars[1] where the chuppers stands', in order to keep their goods from wetting or firing; this 'warehouse or roome' may be erected for 400 or 500 rupees, and should they at any time sell the house the expenditure would no doubt be recovered. 'As you weare advised by ours of the prime current as aforesaid Shaw Jeḥaun sate in [on?] his royall throne the 4th ditto and was saluted and proclaimed King, with cuttbah[2] read according to the custome of his ancestours; and hath seated himselfe within the castle, in the pallace that was his fathers, and vigilantlie observeth his publick and private sitting forth, having (to secure the soveraignetie to him and his posteritie) cruellie murthered all other princes of the blood, vizt. his brother Sheryare, who, notwithstanding his eyes weare putt out and soe made uncapable to raigne, yet to make sure worke was afterwards strangled; and so weare Bollockie and his young brother, the miserable children of Prince Cossero. Their mother, distracted hereatt, slew hirselfe, dying with them. Tennuer and Hossang, Danu Shaughs sonnes,[3] weare made away in like manner in Lahore; and lastly the yong sonne of Parveis [*see* p. 242] in this place, as is crediblie affirmed by men of ranck and devulged in court. Assaph Caun is said to bee the contriver of this plott and lamentable massacre, noe doubt to make sure the succession to Shaugh Shuga [Shāh Shujā], sonne to the present King by his daughter. Hee is on the way hither, and wilbee here in a few daies, Ckoja Abulhassen remayning in Lahore. What successe may ensue theis unnaturall proceedings wee leave to the divine disposures. Ckaun Jehaun is in open rebellion, seizing for himselfe the country about Brampore; to whome a messenger is dispatcht from the King to

[1] Apparently what is meant is a substantial warehouse with a terrace roof.

[2] The *khutba* is the address delivered after divine service, during which the preacher blesses Muhammad, his successors, and the reigning sovereign. The introduction of a fresh name was equivalent to the proclamation of a new monarch.

[3] See Elliot's *History*, vol. vi. p. 438. The victims were Shahriyār, Dāwar Bakhsh (Bulāqī), and his brother Garshāsp, with Tahmūras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dāniyāl. De Laet (p. 277) says that the actual murderer was 'Radia Bahador', and Herbert identifies him with the murderer of Khusrū; but on this see pp. 241–2.

knowe his intents. Caun Hallam[1] is ordeyned speedily to goe to Hageepor-puttama[2] [*sic*], to governe the countrie thereabouts. Ckauna Zaud Ckaun [*see* p. 204], Mauhobett Ckauns eldest sonne, is appointed with a laskar [Pers. *lashkar*, an army] and divers amraws [*see* p. 228] to goe to Mandoe and Brampore, Mallwa, etc., those countries being assigned Mauhobett Ckauna and his said sonne for their lifetymes; but tis thought his dispatch thitherwards is chiefelie because of Ckaun Jehaun. All rup[ees] of Noor Jehann Beagams stampe are called in and not to bee uttered.' Bangham has recovered the gold and silver lace from Mahābat Khān, and hopes to settle with Muqarrab Khān, who is expected here shortly. The King has granted a farmān for the safe passage of their caravan. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp. Received March* 10.)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Ahmadābād to the Same, February 18, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 522).

Dispatch of saltpetre and gum-lac to Surat. Price of sugar. Find now that their funds are sufficient to meet all liabilities. The dutties and baftas bought last year were both poor and dear, as the Company has complained, but this was due to their being purchased in a hurry. It would be sufficient if Nathaniel Mountney and Henry Graves were left here to look after the rest of the business. Hopkinson will go down shortly. 'Your Devon [Dīwān] his letter to this wee have delivered, who giveth us good words, as the Governour here hath done, but neither of them doe yet command ought publicklie concerning the passage of Surratt quoines or Shaw Jehauns. There is a firmaun within 2 or 3 daies expected from him, att what tyme newes is thought will arrive that hee hath been enthronized in Dillee; and then the marchants among themselves will make them passable. The newes of Assaph Caun, in massacring all the rest, wee could have advised you 3 or 4 daies since, but that such a bloodie accion had not current creddence att first. The report here is certaine that by Chorooms order, and the absence

[1] Mīrzā Barkhurdār Khān Ālam was made Governor of Bihār soon after Shāh Jahān's accession (Blochmann's *Āīn*, vol. i. p. 513).

[2] Hājīpur-Patna. It is on the opposite side of the river to Patna.

and privitie of Mauhobet Cauns sonne, Assaph Caun caused Dower Bux, Sheriare, Dower Bux his brother, the 2 sonnes of Donshaw, and Noor Maull[1] to bee slaine, the instrument or execucioner said to bee Meea Ruzzake [? Mīr Razzāq], who was here with Carroom; upon knowledge whereof Caun Azzam his wife and daughter, Dower Bux his mother, slew themselves, and above 100 more of their caunazate[2]; so that now none remaine besides Caroom and his sonnes, except the two sonnes of Parveis, who are in Agra and attend their fortunes.[3] It is also affirmed that the Rawna is dead.[4] Some also say Shaw Abbas is dead, but something uncertainly. There want not also some that say all the former is falce, and Assaph Caun himselfe hath lost his arme [*sic*] and Charooms attempts spoiled, himselfe, &c. [*sic*]; but the contrary is most likelie to bee true, conforming most with Carooms former courses and actions.' (*Copy.* 3 *pp.* *Received February* 23.)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, February 20, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 525).

In answer to theirs of the 14th. Reasons for getting rid of their gold here. Are glad to learn that more money is coming. 'The massacre advised of in our last is still confirmed to bee true.' *P.S.*—'Tage Caun [Tāj Khān] and Company' offer to take all the quicksilver at Surat for 96 rupees per maund upon certain conditions. *Annexed.*—The conditions referred to. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.* *Received February* 23.)

Captain John Hall, aboard the *Mary* at Swally, to the Same, February 21, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 521).

'The 28th of January wee arrived in safetie in the roade of Dabull. The next daie wee received a letter from the Governour,

[1] The rumour was of course untrue so far as Nūr Mahal (Nūr Jahān) was concerned.

[2] Household: *khānazād*, 'born in the house.'

[3] Nothing seems to be known concerning the son (*cf.* p. 240) or sons of Parwīz here referred to.

[4] This would mean the Rānā Karan of Udaipur. Mr. Beveridge says that according to the *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* Karan died in A. H. 1038 (Aug. 1628–Aug. 1629); and if this date be correct, the rumour given above must have been unfounded, like the one about the death of Shāh Abbās which immediately follows.

which gave us a parcell of faire words; att the first wee hopeing to have found verry great trade, but in conclusion it proved noe other waies but delaies; but wee sending Mr. Norris, Mr. Blacden, and Seignour Jeronimo ashoare, hee tould them flatt and plaine that hee could not trade, directlie nor indirectlie. Whereupon wee tooke to consideracion whither wee should goe further to leeward or noe; but finding noe incouragment of the Japonies [Thomas de Coste: *see* p. 254] nor by any other, knowing it was under one kings territories, wee thought it fitting to sett saile and returne for Surratt, and to spend some small tyme in surveying and discovering the coast betweene this and Dabull. You may bee pleased the 6th February, about six of the clock in the evening, wee came to an anchour in the port of Dandae [1], distant from Chaul 5 leagues. It is a verry good harbour and a strong place. Our tyme of abode was three daies, hopeing thereby to [have?] had the castle surrenderd upp to us, for that there was a new Governour sent from the Mellic-Amber, called Abishcan [? Habashī Khān]; but the other flying to the castle in rebellion, wee hoped hee would have come aboard our shipps for succour; but sending Mr. Priddis and Mr. Blackden ashoare, wee saw and perceaved hee had noe such intent. Wherefore wee made all hast possible to Bumbayee; but Mr. Minours reporting of an iland which, before we came to see it, hee tould us there was wood and water and materialls enough; so that upon his report wee anchored to see the place, but found it al[to]geather unfitting, only a plaine rock without water or wood or any other necessaries. . . . The 13th ditto wee sounded the bay of Bumbaye, the draught whereof [*not extant*] shalbee readdie att your demand, both of that and Dandae. In my opinion it is a wonderfull fitt place for our shipping to harbour in, and may bee made so strong that all the Portugalls in India, [we?] being once scituated, are not able to doe us wrong. So I could wish in the Honorable Companies behaulfe that wee weare well fortified, being there is all materialls fitt for plantacion, which is an iland in the bay, which by the draught [*not extant*] shall appeare. The 21th, about twelve of the clock at noone, we arrived in safetie in the Hole of Swalley.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] See note 1 on p. 252.

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, February 23, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 528).

Payment of a bill of exchange. Progress of their investment. A parwāna needed to clear the goods expected from Ahmadābād. The cotton yarn will be forwarded with that caravan. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.* *Received February* 24.)

Christopher Brown, aboard the *William* at Swally, to the Same, February 24, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 529).

Reached the Persian coast on December 29 and Gombroon on January 6. The Dutch fleet came in three days later. Left on February 4 and, after taking in red earth at Ormus, sailed for India on the 7th. They have brought 800 bales of silk and a quantity of Moors' goods. Messrs. [John] Benthall, [Malachi] Martin, George Turner, and Richard Cooper returned with them. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Ahmadābād to the Same, February 24, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 544).

Send their accounts and beg an answer regarding the quicksilver. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received March* 1.)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the Same, February 27, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 541).

Rejoice to hear of the arrival of the ships from Dābhol and Persia. No news yet of the caravan from Ahmadābād. Martin still wishes to go to England. Nathaniel West and Thomas Aldworth are 'att your disposure'. Shall need four or five thousand mahmūdīs more. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.* *Received February* 28.)

Captain Christopher Brown, aboard the *William* [at Swally], to the Same, February 28, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 542).

Will lend his best assistance towards the dispatch of the ships. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Captain John Hall, aboard the *Mary* at Swally, to the Same, February 28, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 543).

Stores for the ships. Requests labourers, &c. Also provisions and arms. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, February 29,[1] 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 542).

Will do his best to get the ships ready quickly. Doubts whether they can get at the ordnance of the *Exchange.* (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Captains Brown, Hall, and Morton, aboard the *Mary*, to the Same, February 29, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 544).

The *Mary* will go out to-morrow, and the rest soon after. As directed, will give out that their destination is Damān, but fear that their real design is generally known. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the Same, February 29, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 546).

Send a sample of cotton wool, of which 50 'candes'[2] may be had at 72½ mahmūdīs per 'candey'; but it is likely to rise, as seven Malabar junks are here seeking that commodity. The caravan left Ahmadābād on the 23rd, but has not yet arrived. (*Copy.* ¾ *p. Received March* 4.)

Joseph Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Ahmadābād to the Same, March 1, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 549).

In accordance with instructions, they informed the merchants that the price offered for the quicksilver was too low, considering that the Dutch had sold some at Surat for 107 rupees and here for 106. The reply was that the quantity now quoted was a large one, while that sold by the Dutch was small. In the end they concluded the bargain at the former price, viz. 96 rupees. Request its speedy dispatch, in order that it may be made into vermilion before the heat renders the work 'unsufferable to the poore labourers'. Think

[1] 'Ultimo Febr.'; but it is possible that the 28th is meant.

[2] The candy was twenty maunds.

it will be dangerous to send goods this way to Agra, as 'many poore banians have been slaine and robbed'; advise the Burhānpur route instead. Can soon send the jewels, &c., here which it is intended to consign thither. It is, however, reported that a great caravan is to depart from this place after the 'Hoolee' [*Holī*] festival. Their first caravan, which is by this time near Broach, carried 2,870 maunds of saltpetre, 246 maunds of gum-lac, 50 corge of narrow 'seryaes', and a quantity of conserves. Their second, which will start within three days, will take 1,200 maunds of saltpetre, 540 of gum-lac, 3,000 of sugar, and 45 of conserves. Will endeavour to get bills of exchange on Agra, but men are unwilling to let money out of their hands 'in this dangerous tyme'. (*Copy.* 2 *pp. Received March* 5.)

Gregory Clement, John Bangham, Robert Clitherow, Ralph Cartwright, and John Goodwin at Agra to the President and Council at Surat, March 2, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 565).

Repudiate the charge of remissness in advising Surat of important events. They sent off the news of the King's death directly they heard it. Their letters of October 4 and 10 were forwarded by messengers, who gave sureties to deliver them in 17 days; as this has not been performed, the money will be recovered and the messengers 'shalbee used in their kind'. Believe they write quite as often as the Dutch. Neither do they admit that the latter are more diligent than they in making advances for indigo and in buying what is available. The earlier arrival of the Dutch ships gave their factors the advantage, but still they paid dearly for what they procured. At present they are not on speaking terms with the English. Request permission to advance money to the villagers and Biāna merchants. Could buy about 200 fardles of old indigo if they had the means. Note that the Surat factors consider that the purchase of the house was unnecessary, as the King would doubtless have granted them the use of it, and that they offer to petition the Khānkhānān for the surrender of the money; disapprove of the proposal, for the grant would only be obtained 'after a long and tedious solliciting, with the giving many presents, which these people doe preferr before peticions'. Have already had much expense in

procuring the farmān for the passage of their caravan free from molestation and tolls. Beg that the document may be sent back when done with. Will observe their directions to pay their respects to the King and to the Khānkhānān; but an introduction to the latter will be of little use without presents to give him. Clement will not be able 'to followe the derbarrs or court sollicitacions', and so they must appoint someone else for that purpose, if necessary; but he must be furnished with rarities and toys for the purpose. Will endeavour the sale of Sir Morris Abbot's emeralds. Bangham sends his accounts herewith. Have cleared most of their goods, and got them out of the town, in readiness for dispatch. There is a residue which they cannot obtain for want of money. 'Bimgee' has failed to supply them, though he has provided the Dutch with a large sum. They hope, however, to get 6,000 rupees from him to-night; and in that case the caravan shall start to-morrow or the next day. The Dutch are endeavouring to be ready at the same time, in order that both caravans may proceed together. 'Nabob Assuffe Caun is yesterdaie arrived with the three young princes,[1] the Kings sonnes, and divers other amraws. Noor Jehaun Beagam is also come to towne, and liveth privatelie in the castle.' (*Copy.* 5¾ *pp.* *Received March* 21.)

RICHARD BARBER AND RICHARD SOUTHAIKE AT BARODA TO THE SAME, MARCH 2, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 545).

Have now got together nearly 6,500 pieces of cloth, and hope by the 18th to make up between 40 and 50 bales for dispatch to Surat. Are offered bleached narrows, 19½ 'coveds' long and 20½ 'tassus'[2] broad, from 80 to 120 mahmūdīs per corge [Hind. *korī*, a score]; desire instructions. Of gum-lac 200 maunds may be had at 6½ mahmūdīs per maund. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.* *Received March* 4.)

CAPTAINS BROWN AND HALL, ABOARD THE *MARY*, TO THE SAME, MARCH 4, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 546).

The lead shall be landed; also the chest of money. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Dārā Shikoh, Shujā, and Aurangzīb.
[2] Mahr. *tasū*, the twenty-fourth part of a 'covedo' (see p. 87).

Captain Hall, aboard the *Mary*, to the President and Council at Surat, March 4, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 547).

Will use all diligence to restrain his men from going ashore. Mr. Minors will sail to-morrow. The landing of the lead will take at least four days. Five or six men missing. Cloth for small sails needed. The money has been put ashore. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Joseph Hopkinson and Nathaniel Mountney at Ahmadābād to the Same, March 4, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 552).

Finding from the enclosed letter the necessities of their friends at Agra, they will endeavour to send thither bills for at least 10,000 rupees. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received March* 10.)

Robert Tottle at Broach to the President at Surat, March 6, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 552).

Has got his goods over the river. Many of the jars containing the quicksilver have been broken, but he has done his best to remedy this. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

Captains Brown, Hall, and Morton, aboard the *Mary*, to the President and Council at Surat, March 6, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 548).

Want of ballast. Landing of lead. Supply of casks and dutties for sails. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same at Swally to the Same, March 7, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 551).

Most of the lead has been landed and put on board the *William* and the *Exchange*. Ballast could not have been taken in safely at Danda. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

William Minors at Swally to the President at Surat, March 7, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 551).

Has been down to Gandevī, but found that the junk he was to convoy had already got into Surat river. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

Captain Brown, aboard the *William*, to the President and Council at Surat, March 8, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 551).

Has prepared casks for the sugar and saltpetre. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *p.*)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the Same, March 8, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 552).

Tottle arrived here on the 4th with goods for Ahmadābād, and two days later the caravan from that city appeared. The clearance of their goods through the customhouse is delayed by 'some difference betweene this Governour and his sonne in lawe, Monseir Chaun [*see* p. 190], with the Sheike' [*shaikh*]. 'Meirza Backer' [Mīrzā Bāqir] came hither yesterday to resume his place at the customhouse. They went out to meet him and found him 'sitting att the tombes'. He is to take up his post to-morrow, when he promises to clear their goods. (*Copy.* 1 *p.* *Received March* 10.)

Andrew Warden's Account of the Homeward Voyage of the *William* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlv. p. 63).

1628, *March* 2. 'Cometh a Porteguall aborde and tolde us veri strange neues conser[n]eing thear shipeing and thear forse thay have alongeste the coste, and what we may doe at Bumebaye; but mestrusten of him that he was seinte for some spye, and our shipeing to be desparesed to goe abrode and leave the *Exc*[*h*]*ange* and we in *Weillem* in the Holle and to take in our ladein, ded make a doute of him (as reseing ded requeir); exeamein[ing] of him, found him in towe or three severall talles, kepeing him in the ioreines [irons], and the nexte day holead his hede and ded burne his fingeres and his towes with maches, and hee ded confese a great deille of velenie and howe hee was seinte for a spye to see our foreses.' He was placed on board the *Mary* as a prisoner, to be released when she put to sea. *March* 11. Captain Hall's squadron went out of the Hole. *March* 21. The *Exchange* and two Dutch ships sailed for the Red Sea. *April* 6. The *William* fell down to the foot of the bar. *April* 15. Sailed. *June* 3. Saw the island of Rodriguez. *June* 7. Anchored at Mauritius. *June* 18. Sailed again. *June* 21. Passed an island. *August* 13. Consultation held by Captain Christopher Brown, Captain Kerridge, and the other merchants and

officers; the ship being leaky and in bad condition, it was decided to bear up [for Madagascar]. *August* 17. Resolved to make for the Cape again. *August* 24. Land seen. *September* 1. Got into Table Bay. Caught some seals on Penguin [Robben] Island, and made a hogshead of lamp oil. Took in more ballast and a supply of water.[1] *September* 19. Set sail. *October* 6. Anchored off Chapel Valley, St. Helena. *October* 13. Sailed again, having on board a number of live pigs and hogs caught on the island. *November* 29. Spoke a Dutch man-of-war. *November* 30. Saw Flores. *December* 11. Got into Falmouth. *December* 26. Sailed again. *December* 28. Anchored in the Downs. *December* 30. Set sail. *December* 31. Anchored in the Gore. 1629, *February* 14. Moored at Erith. (42½ *pp.*)

President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, and John Skibbow at Surat to the President and Council at Bantam, March 8, 1628 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 461).

Wrote last by the *Blessing* [*see* p. 222]. Since then nothing of importance has happened. The English fleet reached Persia three days before the Dutch and also got back to Swally three days ahead, bringing 780 bales of silk, 'amounting to above 60,000*l.* starling.' Hope therefore to dispatch the *William*, fully laden, about the middle of April. 'The *Mary*, *Hopwell*, and *Refuge*, whoe in company of the *Blessing* set sayle from hence alongest the Indian coast, returned without other effect then the discovery of som ports, as well of the Decanee and Portugalls, and assurance of those of Dabull, confederated with the Portugalls, will admitt of no trade without compositione. Ouer many shipps here wanting imployment, wee have sent part of the *Maryes* fleete in discovery and againe to range the coast, and after to winter in the islands of Saint Laurence and Commoro, in hope theyr indevores and suckses will prove better then theirs sent theither last yere.' The *Exchange* is intended for the Red Sea ('with the remaines were provided for you'), and will sail in six or eight days. Have given directions to those on board the *Mary* to advise Bantam of their proceedings prior to the

[1] There is a stone in the South African Museum, Cape Town, which bears an inscription recording the arrival of the *William* on September 1, and her departure on the 18th (*sic*).

departure of the *Refuge*. 'The motives inducinge our sendinge this shipp unto [you] is occasioned through the hope of our fortefynge in som convenient harboure one this coast; for which attempt when we came to consider of matterial we fownd our storehouse wholy destitute, even of those things were directly consigned hether by the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphine*, as spades, pickaxes, feild carrages, and all ells fittinge; which at the shipps arrivall being demanded of the commanders, they avered to have receved non, except feild carage[s], which it semes they also left with you at Batavia, for here they ar not to be found. Captain Brown doth affirme that the said materiall[s] were sent on the *Expedicone*; which is not unlikly, seing the Company doe inorder you in there last letter to send hether all provisiones of that kind; which in regard wee required not in the *Blessinge*, nor semed then to have any purpose of theire use, we have sent this vessell express to give you intelegence of our instant desier, vitz. for all municione and matterialls requesitt to such a desine, as great ordnance, powder, iron shott, ladells, spi[ ]nges, cartriges, feild carrages, musketts, bandelers [for ?] muskett shott, rests for musketts, pouches, wormes, scowrers, swords, pistoles, girdells, hangers, belts, scabords, chapes for swords, saws, filles, chesells, broad axes, adses, spicks and nailes of all sorts, planck, sheathinge boards, laths, and whatsoever else the Company sent forth for supply of Lagundy or the rendevoes, and dischardge of shipinge hath furnished your storehouse withall.' Should this letter arrive before the *Blessing* departs, the stores may be laden in her, and the *Refuge* retained; otherwise, the latter or some better ship must be dispatched with them, reaching Surat by September 20 or 24. No news received from Masulipatam, 'although we have signified the Companis purpose concerning desolucion of that factory.' The fine blue calicoes promised in their last have not yet arrived from Broach, but will be sent in the Dutch ships. Would be glad of twenty or thirty butts of arrack. (*Copy*. 3 *pp*.)

An Account by Richard Predys[1] of the Cruise of Captain Hall's Fleet to the Comoros (*O. C.* 1269).

1628, *March* 11. The *Mary* left Swally Hole. *March* 12. The fleet set sail. *March* 15. Passing Chaul, they anchored off

[1] 'Cape Merchant of the saied fleete.'

'Danda.'[1] The captain of the castle, 'Seidiambar,'[2] sent them a complimentary letter, with a present of cattle, fruit, &c. At night another boat brought a present from 'Abiscan' [*see* p. 243], who was still besieging the castle on behalf of the King of 'Decannee'.[3] It was resolved to send Sīdī Ambar a present next day, 'and to see if we could upon composition draw him to surrender up the castle unto us.' *March* 16. Signor Jeronimo, Captain Altham, and Mr. Latch went ashore accordingly, with a chest of rosewater and four swordblades, and were courteously received by Sīdī Ambar. 'Our people had some conference with him, and profferred him great rewards if he would deliver it up; but by noe meanes he would not be seduced to deliver up the castle; but promised, if we would retorne thether the next yeare, he would procure us a ferman from the King of Decan his master for our licence to trade in those partes, and alsoe would provide us a place where we might fortifie ourselves and keepe us out of danger from the Portugalls or any other enymie. But I conceave what he spoke was rather to give us content then otherwise, fearing we should have joyned against him with Abiscan; for, he keepeing the castle against the King, it is very unlike he wilbe able to doe for us anything he promised. Had we had tyme and more men to have landed, we might have peradventure taken it, for the seamen were once partely resolved to attempt the takeing of it; but after they had heard the relation of Captain Altham and one Latch, two land soldiers, they gave over their designe. . . . The castle of Danda is scituated in the sea upon a litle hommock, distant from the shoare a little more then a muskett shot; by nature very strong; wherein are at least 400 men, six great peeces of ordinance, and some 16 or 18 falconet and ravenet; envyroned with a wall, of 18 or 20 foote towards the land and some 14 foote towards the sea, round about, with battlements and halfe moones; and upon the top and middle of it a great house, and by it a block house, from whence we sawe

[1] It is clear, from the description given later, that the fortified island of Janjīrā, in the Rājpurī creek, is meant. Danda-Rājpurī is really the neighbouring town on the mainland.

[2] Sīdī Ambar (known as Sānak or 'The Little', to distinguish him from Malik Ambar) was Governor of Janjīrā from 1621 till 1636 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xi. p. 436).

[3] Dakhinī, i. e. Ahmadnagar. Della Valle in 1623 speaks of Danda-Rājpurī as belonging to Nizām Shāh, whom he elsewhere describes as 'King of Dacan'.

three peeces of ordinance shott over to the S. side unto two Mallabarr friggitts which were coming into the baye.' Meanwhile the boats sounded all round the castle and between it and the main; but were not allowed to do the same further in, although on the previous occasion Sīdī Ambar gave them permission to sound all over the bay. It appeared to be a very good harbour to winter in; while that there was sufficient depth was proved by the fact that the *Shāhī* of Surat, drawing 25 feet, had anchored there. *March* 17. Sailed from 'Donda Rogepore'. 'In the afternoone we arrived in the roade of Dabull, and heere we diserned three junks to be in the porte, which we imagined to be laden for the Red Sea.' A consultation was held and it was resolved that 'the *Hopewell* and *Refuge* should goe into the port and use their endeavours to bring out the junks if the people should refuse us trade, haveing formerly drawne us thither, to the great charge of our honourable employers, and after put us of with feyned excuses.' As Hall was the only one thoroughly acquainted with the place, it was settled that he should take in the *Hopewell*; and Jeronimo de Paiva and Predys went also, to look after the prize goods. The ships displayed a flag of truce but, as soon as they drew near, the forts opened fire upon them. The junks at once set sail; two ran themselves ashore, and the third got so far up the river that the English could not reach her. They managed to get off one of the junks and also a new frigate of some 50 tons; and they might have succeeded in getting the other junk afloat, had not the sailors spent their time pillaging her instead. At midnight they went out again into the road, without any one being hurt, in spite of the heavy fire from the town and forts. 'This place in my opinion might easely be taken and kept, if we had but people to keepe the castles belonginge thereto; and for a harbour and trade, I think there are fewe better in India.' *March* 18. The junk was overhauled, but proved to have little of value on board. The fleet then set sail, Richard Tuke, who had lived among the Portuguese [*see* p. 197], undertaking to pilot them to 'Cettora,[1] eight leagues to the southward of Dabull, from whence (he tould us) went yearely two junks to the Red Sea'; but he overshot the harbour. *March* 19.

[1] A town a little way up the Shāstrī River. It is called 'Sytuore' and 'Saitavda' in the *Indian Atlas*.

They anchored at 'Congra' [*see* p. 255], which Tuke supposed to be 'Seidepore' [*see* pp. 255, 258], though it was three leagues short of that place. *March* 20. Off 'Karrapatam'[1] they chased two junks, which took refuge in a river.[2] They were captured by the boats of the fleet but abandoned on finding that they had nothing on board of any value. *March* 21. The Governor of 'Karrapatan' offered 9,000 'larees' for the two junks, and this was accepted. A 'cafila' of Portuguese frigates passed. *March* 20–26. Remained 'heere at Tambona',[3] watering and wooding the fleet. The frigate taken at Dābhol was fitted out to accompany the fleet, while the junk was broken up. As there was no sign of the money being forthcoming for the other two junks, they commenced to unlade them; whereupon the natives made a fresh offer of 4,000 'larrees', 'which we thought better to take then nothing'. 'This port is called Tambona, apperteyning to the Hydalshawe.[4] It lyeth in 15 degrees and 40 minutes[5] to the northwards of the lyne, being in shew to the eye a very faire harboure. The river runs at least 8 myles up into the country, and yet hath but one place where shipps may winter in, and those of small burthen, as 3 or 400 tonns, which is upon the S. entrance of the harboure. . . . Neere by this place growes store of pepper, which is usually sold for 7, 8 and 9 larees per maund.' *March* 26. 'As wee were ready to set saile to proceede on our voyage, there came a boate from Karrapatan abord of us, wherein came Signior Thomas de Coste (the Japones[6] which in our former voyage to Dabull came passenger upon our shipps for ditto place) with a message from Sibo Sibo, Avardar,[7] which is cheife governour

[1] Khārepātan is about 25 miles up the Viziadrūg River, but the name was also applied (as here) to the town at the mouth (Viziadrūg or Gheria, later the famous stronghold of the Angrias), which served as its port.

[2] Apparently the Devgad (Deoghar) River.

[3] Della Valle mentions his passing by 'Tambona', to the south of 'the point of Carapetan' (Khārepātan, i. e. Viziadrūg). The *Indian Atlas* shows a village named Tembhavli, about four miles up the Devgad River. This river Dom João de Castro (*Roteiro*, p. 23) calls 'Rio de Tamaraa'. The fleet probably anchored at the mouth.

[4] Ādil Shāh, the title of the king of Bījāpur (see p. 192).

[5] Davis says 16° 30′, and Sayers 16° 24′. The latter is approximately correct.

[6] See p. 243. On p. 268 he is called a 'Portingall'.

[7] 'Sibo Sibo' is a hopeless puzzle. By 'Avardar' is meant the Hind. *havildār*, familiar nowadays as a name for a sepoy non-commissioned officer. Among the Mahrattas, however, a commandant of a fort was so styled (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. p. 412), and here the term is used in the general sense of 'a Governor'. Fryer applies

of a province belonging to the Hidalshawe, to advise us that he would procure us leave to trade in theis partes, and that both of them had written to this effect to the President and Councell at Surratt; and that for the obteyning the Kings ferman this Governours unckle and father in lawe, called by the name of Mammadamy,[1] a man in great estimacion with the King, whome he would employ in this busines, and doubted not but to bring us to have trade and commerce with theis people upon good termes, if we could procure a good seguaty [Port. *saguate*, a gift] or piscash [Pers. *pīshkash*, a present] for the King.' A consultation was thereupon held, at which it was decided to go back to 'Seidepore',[2] and thence dispatch some factors to 'Rogepore' to treat with the Governor. The messenger was sent back with a demand for a safeconduct and hostages, and with a draft in Portuguese of the concessions required. *March* 27. The *Refuge* was dispatched to Batavia [*sic*]. *March* 28. Sailed to 'Congra,[3] which we supposed to be Seidepore', but found that the latter place was two leagues to leeward. They sounded over the bar, and learnt that the river ran up into the country at least eight or ten miles. *March* 29. Moved to 'Seidipore'. *March* 30. 'Signior de Coste came aboard us with two bannian merchants our pledges; from them wee had assurance that the Governour partly did approve of our articles. It was ordered by the Councell of our fleete that myselfe, Signior Jeronimo, and Mr. Turner should goe for Rogepore to treate with Sibo Sibo; and, to creddit our busines and our nation, we carried with us a present for him of theis particulers following: a coat of mayle, vallued at 10*l.*; two pistolls; a fowleing peece; 16 amberhafted knives; 10 yards of Florence satten. Arriveing at Rogepore, we lodged in the house of Signior Thomas de Coste, where we were visited by all the cheife merchants of the towne and many poore people, which came with small presents, to whom for the honor of our nation

it to the Governor of 'Gullean' (Kalyan), and in his glossary explains that 'havaldar' means 'a commander'.

[1] Possibly Mahmūd Hāmid.

[2] Jaitāpur, the port of Rājāpur. It is on the Rājāpur River, four miles from its mouth. De Castro (*Roteiro*, p. 31) calls it 'Ceitapor', which is very near the form given in the text.

[3] Andrews calls this place 'Gouncore' or 'Gauncore', and says it is eight or ten miles north of Jaitāpur. Evidently Purangad Creek, at the mouth of the Muchkundi River, is meant. There is a village named Goankhadi or Goankhuree near the river mouth.

we extended our liberallitie. The seacond day after our arrivall we were receaved at the Governours house, with all the state the place could affoard. Our present to him was well accepted of, and after he had feasted us, according to the fashion of the Moores, we came to treate with him of our busines. And after some eight or nine houres expence of tyme in handling our articles, and some others by him appointed for us to performe, in case the Portugalls should break the peace betweene them for admitting us leave to trade in those partes, and after he had a while considered with himselfe, he made us this answere: that questionlesse he could procure us the Kings ferman for trade in all the partes and places in the Hydalshawes dominions, but excepted against that article in building a castle, for that, he saied, was hard to be graunted to a strange nation, whose fames made the world to tremble; but tould us, after the King had made some tryall of us and that our factories were established in those partes, peradventure we might obtaine a fort neere the water side for safegaurd of our shipps, or, if that the Portugalls should come and mollest us, theis, said hee, may drawe the King in tyme to graunt your requests; but at your first entrie, he said, by the way of trade, for the King to give away his country he should buy our trade to deare. Farther he tould us it were a principall motive to obtaine the Kings favoure for leave to traffick, to salve the wrongs we had formerly don his subjects, were to present the King with a good seguaty or piscash; and therein rested the conclusion of his speech. To which we made answere: that formerly we had ben twice called and sent for by the Governours of Dabull to come and receave free commerce and trade with them, to the great hinderence and dishonour of our masters, for when we came they put us of with excuses and frivolous delayes, and that our goods could not be transported to and fro but at great charges; soe that for what we tooke of theirs would not satisfie the tenth parte of the charge the[y] put us to in calling us there. We further gave him to understand that those things wee tooke wee sleighted and scorned, and that we gave them to the marriners and never came to our masters stock. We made him knowe alsoe that if we had ben a mallitious people, we could have fired all their junks and vessells in Dabull and other places, and have beaten downe their towne about their eares; and that we had

noe assurance of our persons and goods, being once ashoare in the King's dominions, without the comaund of a place of our owne. Likewise we tould him that our President at Surratt knew well the customes of the country and what present befitted such a potent king as his master (as he might well judge by our respects with the Mogull and King of Persia), to whome we would refer him. Notwithstanding all theis allegations, and sundry others [which] (fearing to be tedious) I omitt, wee could get noe promise of him for effecting our intentions untill we should promise him what the vallewe of the present should be. Soe we desired him to hould us excused untill we had conferred with our captaine, and that from our shipps wee would resolve him. And soe, after wee had ben freindly entertayned, we parted and came to our shipps.' *April* 1. A consultation was held on board the *Mary*, at which it was decided to promise that the present should be of the value of 8,000 rials of eight. The Governor, however, replied that this was too little, and desired that the question should be referred to Surat.[1] It was therefore resolved to leave the negotiations to the Presidency. 'I am of opinion, whatsoever it shall cost under 15,000 rials of eight, it is better to come in by theis afore mencioned [the Governor and his uncle] then for us to send unto the King first, and reject their proffer, for in soe doeing we shall purchase their displeasure, whereas we may have them our freinds; and if by their meanes they can procure us a castell, that we may not with the Honourable Companies estate upon all occasions be subject to have a Moores trick put upon us, the mony is well bestowed.' . . . 'The harboure of

[1] Copies of the documents exchanged during these negotiations are given at p. 13 of the MS. The English demands included permission to build a castle in Khārepātan 'or anywhere else that we shall like better of': the gift of suitable houses at Rājāpur and other places where they might wish to establish factories: the fixing of definite prices for pepper and other commodities, and the guarantee of a certain yearly supply: an act of oblivion for the attacks on Dābhol: and leave to build two or three frigates yearly and to hire native rowers for the same. On his side the Governor wished to stipulate that the English should not capture any vessels bound to or from the ports of the Ādil Shāh, and should assist the latter in his wars with any nation in whose territories they had not settled factories; also that their ships should not enter the Rājāpur river, but ride outside. This last article was rejected as inadmissible; as regards the others, the English expressed their willingness to observe neutrality while in the King's ports, but insisted on their right to capture the vessels of the Portuguese and other enemies on the high seas without restriction; they were willing to assist the King in his wars, but on such terms as would secure them from loss.

Seidepore lyeth in the latitude of 16 degrees 12 minutes; being a very good place for shipps to ride in for the esterly monzoone, but noe place for shipps to winter in, by reason of the strong freshes that comes downe the river, which runns soe violent that noe cables can hould them. From the place where we ridd to the towne of Seidipore it is two myles, and the river runns up to the other towne, called Rogepore, 12 miles; and beyond this towne it runns 30 myles into the country. . . . Heere belongeth to the said two townes many junks, which goeth yearely for the Redd Sea, Achin, Combroone, and many other places. Where our shipps ride there is store of fresh water, and at the towne store of refreshing at cheape rates. Heere [we] were promised 5,000 candyes [*see* p. 245] of pepper per annum, if we had libertie of trade with them. They demaund 9 and 10 larrees per maund, five of theise maunds makeing four at Surratt. The merchants tould us they would yearely fraight us, if we pleased, two shipps for Percia and one to the southward, and would give us, upon all goods sold by the candy, 40 larrees for every candy of goods fraight, and 5 larrees upon every corge of cloath, and to the southward more, as we can agree. Besides pepper, this country affoards indicoes, sugar, gumlack, ginger, turmerick, and all sorts of fine cloathes; all which are bought heere at reasonable prizes, and 40, 50 to 70 per cent. proffitt is usually made from hence to Combroone. Our English commodities are alsoe like to vend heere at good rates, especially corrall, for the most parte of that which wee sell at Surratt is transported by land to Visapore [Bījāpur] (which is the cheife cittie of the Hidalshawes dominions and where he keepes his court), and at divers other places in this kingdome lead, cloath, quicksilver, and ritch stuffes will vend well in theis partes by the relation of theis people; soe doe jewells or any other curious things, farr better then at Surratt.' *April* 5 [*sic*]. Letters for Surat were sent to the Governor for conveyance overland. A present of 100 'larrees' was given to Thomas de Coste for his assistance. 'Since our being heere in the port of Seidypore, Captaine Hall, Mr. Evans, and Mr. Pashley have ben at Karrapotan, which is one league to the southward of this place. By their relacion it is the best harboure in all India, for 100 saile of shipps may winter there safely. From the mouth of the entry of the river to the towne of Karrapatan it is at least 16 myles up . . . .

It is an excellent good place alsoe for fortificacion, and good store of fresh water by the rivers mouth; where alsoe lyeth great stoare of stones already hewen out. Soe that heere wanteth nothing but the Kings leave; then a small matter would build a fort to oppose any enymie.' *April* 5. The ships sailed. 'If the Companie make a newe joynt stock, and that heere be good supplies of moneys and commodities out of England, the shipps may retorne for England laden the same yeare they come out (if not all, most of them), and make their voyage in lesse then 20 moneths, as well as the Portugalls. Alsoe if by our trade the Portugall break with this king, as it is hoped he will, wee shall hinder the Portugalls from 5 or 6,000 saylors, which he hath upon all occasions out of the Hidalshawes dominions, that rowes in his friggotts for small meanes.' *April* 6. 'In the morning wee were within a league of the barre of Goa, where we diserned three castles; one upon the north side, a very bigg place upon the top of a high hill, where is a round platforme like a lanthorne, envyroned round with walls which reacheth downe to the waterside. Another castle you shall finde upon the south side, opposite to the former; and another built lately upon the northermost end of one of the Iles of Keymathes, which is the first iland neerest Goa.[1] Two or three ilands more are neere adjoyning, all of them called by the name of Burnt Ilands, and indeede the places brooketh the name very well, for there is nothing upon them. From under some of theis ilands came out unto us 12 man a warre friggotts, at whom the *Starre*, being asterne of the fleete and neerest them, made some 8 or 9 shott at them, and then they left us. Theis friggotts were built purposely to keepe the barre upon all occasions, to rescue any of their shipps that shall come upon the coast in distresse. The money that paid for them was by collection of the peoples freewill at Goa, and called the Caffila de Calleta.[2] *April* 7. Reached the island of 'Angedive'.[3] They noticed two

[1] The two forts on the mainland were named Aguada and Cabo respectively. The fortified island must be Secretario, but Predys is wrong in classing it as one of the Quiemados ('Burnt') Islands, which are considerably to the north.

[2] I. e. the fleet of the creek, Port. *calheta*.

[3] Anjidīv or Angediva, an island off Karwar, belonging to Portugal. It is chiefly remembered as the spot where the English troops, under the command of Sir Abraham Shipman, awaited the surrender of Bombay by the Portuguese. A description of the island was given by Mr. F. J. Varley, I. C. S., in the *Geographical Journal* for April, 1904.

platforms, one at the north and the other at the south end of the island. 'In former tymes carricks have careened in this place and wintred, and it is supposed by us that those platformes . . . . were made by the Portugalls.' *April* 8. 'Wee woodded and ballasted our shipps and went ashoare upon the maine. Heere was brought us store of henns and fruite, but we could get noe beeves, by reason that the governour of the place lived about half a dayes journey from the water side, and in his absense, the inhabitants tould us, they durst not sell any. Neere by this place growes great store of pepper and ginger; and here is to be had many other commodities, as in the Hydalxa his country, to whome this continent alsoe belongeth. This country is alsoe full of tymber to build, and not passing three leagues from this place is a river from whence the Portugalls have a great parte of the wood wherewith they build their vessells at Goa. This place might easely be fortified and kept from any enymie (especially upon the iland) without any great mollestation, for from the iland you may shoote over to the maine, and if we had any ordinaunce upon theis platformes our shipps might securely ride under their shelter. Besides, if we had this place under our comaund wee should annoy the Portugalls very much, in keepeing from him all his masts that cometh from Cannanore to Goa, for they towe them betweene this iland and the maine. Further, this place lyeth in the heart of India for trade with the Mallabarrs, Callicutts, and Cochinders, which places abound with pepper, all which we should in tyme, either by faire termes or constraint, make them bring their commodities thither, or else admitt us leave to trade in their country. All the difficultie that I conceave may be prejudiciall to our masters is this: the distance of the way betweene this and Surratt, which wilbe a long tyme ere our shipps can turn it upp, and very dangerous for a lone shipp to passe by Goa, our enymies port. But in coming from Surratt hither there is noe danger.' *April* 9. Passed the castle of 'Onor' [Honāwar], which report said was garrisoned by only twelve Portuguese and some blacks. *April* 10. Reaching Mangalore, they found two junks in the bay. At first Captain Hall thought of sending his boats to fetch them out, but on consideration it was decided not to lose time by attempting this. Passing along the coast two more junks were seen and captured. *April* 11. The prizes were over-

hauled and found to be empty. A Malabar junk was chased ashore and some goods taken out of her. In the afternoon another junk was captured and taken into 'Mountdelee' [*see* p. 125]. *April* 12. A message from the King of Cannanore promised supplies if the fleet would come thither, but hearing that there were at Cochin three ships from Ceylon, bound for Goa, it was decided to make for that port without delay. The three junks were left empty at anchor, and a letter was written to the King of Cannanore, stating that they would accept his offer of trade on some future occasion. In sailing along the coast, the *Hart's* barge attacked a frigate, although Captain Hall had ordered that no more of these poor country vessels should be meddled with. However, she made so stout a resistance that James Cheshire, master of the barge, was killed and eleven men hurt. *April* 15. They reached Cochin, where they saw the three ships in the road and seven or eight others further in. They were also thirteen frigates at anchor near the bar. The seamen objected to make an attack, as the water was found to be shallow and bad weather was feared; so the project was abandoned. 'The towne of Cochin is almost as great as Goa, and fairely built with stone; wherein are many churches and castles. A mile and a half up the river stands the Kings towne, from whence he is able to put in feild 5,000 blacks in armes according to their manner, in the behalfe of the Portugall and himselfe Neverthelesse, this place is easeye to be taken if we had three or four shipps like the *Hopewell*, with a pilote to conduct them into the harboure; for theis friggotts we mett with were heere by chance to conduct a caffila for Goa.' *April* 19. Saw the high land of 'Brian John'.[1] 'This was the last land wee sawe upon the coast of India.'[2] *April* 25. Crossed the Line. *May* 23. Sighted Rodriguez. *May* 27. Reached Mauritius. *May* 28. Got into a harbour there, where they obtained plenty of refreshments. *June* 7. The *William* arrived. *June* 17. Two men punished for a detestable crime. (*Last entry.* 26¼ *pp.*)

[1] Vilinjam, near Trivandrum; see a note on p. 1 of the 1618–21 volume.

[2] Predys gives a list of the ports on the coast from Swally to Cape Comorin, with their distances from one another.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY DAVID DAVIS IN THE *HART* (*Marine Records*, vol. xliv. p. 67).

1628, *March* 1. 'The President Keeredge came to Swaley to hasten our ships away to sea; but that night (as God would have it) the Portingalls trechery was found out by Jeronimo.' *March* 3. 'The Portugall was examined, who confessed the plott that was pretended against us at Bombay; whereuppon he had the topp of his fingers burnt and the topp of his nose. The plott was that we should come to Bombay and take a castle peaceably, which castell Captain Hale had beene before with the *Mary*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge* the while [we ?], viz. the *Exchange*, the *William*, the *Hart*, and the *Starr*, were at Persia; and after that we had landed our men and had the possession thereof, that there was a vault under the castell full of powder ready to blow us upp. Then that 5,000 souldiors should come from the maine in theyr frigotts and enter our ships and cutt of all our heads that should be left.' *March* 12. The fleet, consisting of the *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*, *Hopewell*, and *Refuge*, sailed from Swally, leaving there the *Exchange* and the *William* and five Dutch ships. *March* 15. 'We were before the entring in at Danderagpore, which is a good harbour within a deepe bay, and a maine strong castell, which is the Dickerny [Dakhinī] countrey.' *March* 16. 'Our barge went in and sounded about the castell.' *March* 17. 'We weighed and stood out of the bay.' *March* 18. Sailed from the Road [of Dābhol]. *March* 20. The *Hopewell* chased two Malabar junks into 'Tomanars', where they were captured and proved to be laden with coco-nuts, betel-nuts, and cardamomum seeds. *March* 21. The Governor agreed to purchase the prizes for 9,000 'larris', equivalent to 7,200 mahmūdīs or 360*l.* *March* 26. Received 4,000 'laris' for the two junks. *March* 27. The *Refuge* departed for Batavia. *March* 28. The remaining vessels sailed northwards again. *March* 29. Anchored at 'Radgpoore'. *April* 4. Sailed. Called at 'Carripotame', where the barges went up for six miles. *April* 7. Reached the island of 'Angeduo'. *April* 8. Left, after purchasing provisions, and sailed southwards. *April* 11. Anchored at 'the roade of Mount Deley' with three prize junks. *April* 12. Sailed again. *May* 23. Saw an island, which proved to

be 'Deago de Roys' [Rodriguez]. *May* 27. Sighted Mauritius. *May* 29. Anchored there. *June* 7. The *William* came in. *June* 18. The whole fleet sailed, after being detained some hours by Kerridge and the commanders being on shore hunting. *June* 21. Reached 'Englands Forrest'.[1] *June* 26. The *William* parted company for England. *July* 1. Saw Madagascar. *July* 6. Anchored in the road at St. Augustine's, and found there the *Eagle*, which had been beaten back from the Cape. *July* 11. Sailed again. *July* 19. Saw the African coast. *July* 20. Three boats were sent to take a Portuguese frigate, but were repulsed with eight men wounded. *July* 22. Anchored in Mozambique Road, where they could descry four sails in the harbour. *July* 23. 'Our commanders went ashore with the five ships boats and neere 100 shott, and landed on the point of the headland of the maine and marched som two miles upp into the land, where nobody resisted.' *July* 31. The fleet sailed. *August* 3. Saw the Comoros. *August* 4. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 20. Went to Mohilla, but finding no ships there proceeded for Surat. *September* 27. Saw the Indian coast near Bassein. *September* 30. Reached Swally, and found there the *Jonas, Expedition*, and a junk taken by the former; also four Dutch ships. *October* 4. Came into the Hole the *Exchange*, the *Blessing*, the *Christopher*, and the *Blessing*'s prize, named the *Little James*; also two Dutch ships from the Red Sea. (19 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY JOHN PASHLEY, MASTER OF THE *STAR* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlviii. p. 53).

1628, *March* 12. The fleet sailed. *March* 15. Anchored near 'a castell called Danda. This castell standeth one a small iland aboute pistall shott from the maine'. The boats sounded the harbour for some distance. *March* 17. Set sail. In the afternoon anchored in Dābhol Road. Captain Hall with the *Hopewell* and *Refuge* went into the river and captured a junk and a frigate 'in despighte of the towne'. *March* 18. Captain Hall got out of

[1] Réunion. It was originally known as Mascarenhas, from the name of its Portuguese discoverer. In 1613 it was visited by the English interloper *Pearl*, under Captain Castleton, who gave it the name of England's Forest, though it was sometimes called Pearl Island, after the ship (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 331). For a description see Herbert's *Travels* (1638 edn., p. 351).

the river, with the loss of one or two men wounded, although he had to run the gauntlet of three or four forts. The fleet sailed. *March* 20. Anchored off a port called 'Tamana'. *March* 21. Seventy or eighty Portuguese frigates, bound to the northwards, came by. *March* 25. On receiving a message from the Governor of 'Ragapore', it was resolved to proceed thither. *March* 27. The *Refuge* was dispeeded to Batavia. *March* 29. The ships reached the port of Rājāpur. *March* 30. Hostages having been received, the English merchants started to visit the Governor. *April* 2. The merchants returned with proposals from him. An answer was sent by two Portuguese. *April* 4. The ships sailed. The *Star* and the *Hopewell* went into the port of 'Caropotan' to survey the harbour. The Portuguese returned with an answer from the Governor of Rājāpur. *April* 5. The fleet sailed. *April* 6. Stood into Goa Road, but found only frigates there. *April* 7. Anchored at the island of 'Angydue'. *April* 8. Left again. *April* 10. Near Mangalore two small junks were captured. *April* 11. A third was picked up, and the fleet anchored 'under Mountdelee'. *April* 12. Sailed for Cochin. *April* 15. Reached that place, and fired at a squadron of frigates lying there; but finding that no good could be done the fleet sailed again. *April* 17. Saw 'the towne of Colane [Quilon], the which allsoe is inhabeted by the Portugall'. *April* 25. Crossed the Line. *May* 24. Captain Hall attempted to land at the island of Rodriguez, but the surf was too violent; so the voyage was resumed. *May* 28. Anchored in a harbour at the island of Mauritius. *June* 7. The *William* arrived. *June* 18. They all set sail. *June* 21. Sighted the island of Réunion [*see* p. 263]. 'Wee would have ankered at this iland, but found noe convenient place.' *June* 26. The *William* parted company. *July* 1. Saw land. *July* 6. Anchored at St. Augustine's, where the *Eagle* was found riding. She was homewards bound from Bantam, and had got as far as the Cape but was beaten back by bad weather. She was leaky, and her crew were sickly, seventeen having died already. *July* 7. The *Eagle* was pronounced unfit to proceed to England; and so it was decided to repair her and carry her to Surat. *July* 9. On the complaint of his crew, Eustace Man was removed from the command of the *Eagle* and sent a prisoner on board the *Hart*. Peter

Cowlan was made master in his place. A brisk trade was carried on with the natives for cattle and sheep in exchange for red beads. *July* 11. The fleet sailed. *July* 19. Saw the coast of Mozambique. The ships spread themselves in a long line to seawards, in order to intercept any Portuguese vessels that might be passing. *July* 20. The boats attacked a frigate, but returned with four or five men hurt. *July* 22. Anchored off Mozambique, where five small Portuguese vessels were riding. *July* 23. Two or three hundred men landed 'on Cabasera' [Cape Cabeceira, on the north side of Mozambique approach] and marched a mile or two to some Portuguese houses. The inhabitants fled; and the sailors returned with some oranges and lemons and nineteen 'negers'. *July* 24. The *Hopewell* and the *John* were sent to sea to look for Portuguese vessels. *July* 26. They returned. A boat was captured, which had been dispatched to give warning of the English being there. *July* 31. The fleet sailed. *August* 4. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 5. The cargo of the *Eagle* was ordered to be transferred to the *Star*. *August* 7. The *Hopewell* was sent to Mohilla to look for the expected fleet from England. *August* 15. She returned. *August* 20. The fleet stood over to Mohilla, but found no ships there. The voyage was accordingly resumed. *September* 27. Saw the coast of India. *September* 30. Anchored in Swally Road, where they found the *Jonas* and the *Expedition*. *October* 1. Went into the Hole. Four Dutch ships from Batavia were there. *October* 5. The *Exchange* and two 'Flemings' arrived from the Red Sea; also the *Blessing*, the *Christopher*, and the pinnace *Coco-nut* (a prize of the *Blessing*) from Bantam. *October* 11. A drunken Dutchman stabbed an Englishman, causing his death; two others were hurt [*see* p. 292]. *October* 12. A Dutch ship arrived from Batavia. *October* 15. Thomas Robinson was sent on board as a prisoner. *October* 20. The trial of Eustace Man was commenced. *November* 11. The *Royal Mary* and the pinnace *John* sailed for Bantam *December* 11. 'The pinis *James* (a Portugall prise which was taken by the *Blessing* goinge to Bantom), shee haveing bin upe Surrat Ryver to bee trimmed, and comminge downe againe with two barges to atend her, was by 16 Portugall frygots fyred, most of the men slaine and taken prisoners by the Portugalles. Som escaped in the two barges and runn one shore, but the Portugalls

persuinge them surprised the barges. They beelonged, one to the *Harte*, the other to our shipp the *Starr*; and of our men wee lost five eyther slaine or taken prisoners.' (31 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY ABRAHAM SAYERS IN THE *HOPEWELL* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlvi. p. 36).

1628, *March* 12. Sailed. *March* 15. Arrived at 'Donderogerpoore'. *March* 17. Left again, and anchored at Dābhol. *March* 18. Captain Hall took two prizes. *March* 20. Two small junks captured at 'Tamena'. *March* 28. Came away from 'Apagode,[1] otherwise called Tamena by the people of the country'. *March* 30. Anchored at 'Nossapora', two leagues from 'Carrapotan'. *April* 4. Moved to the latter place. *April* 5. Sailed. *April* 7. Came to 'Angedue'. *April* 9. Departed. *April* 11. Reached 'Mountadele'. *April* 12. Left again. *May* 24. Visited Rodriguez, but could not find a place to anchor. *May* 27. Reached 'the Morrosses' [Mauritius]. *May* 28. Went into the harbour. *June* 18. The *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*, *Hopewell*, and a frigate, sailed. The *William*, which left Swally a month after the fleet, homewards bound, accompanied them. *June* 21. Saw the island of 'Domas Carenus' [Do Mascarenhas: *see* p. 263]. *June* 22. Departed again. *June* 26. In lat. 25° 36′ the *William* quitted them. *July* 1. Saw the coast of Madagascar. *July* 6. Anchored at St. Augustine's, finding there the *Eagle*, bound for England. *July* 11. Sailed again. *July* 18. Reached the headland called 'Doe Tangars', about 25 leagues from Mozambique. Resolved that the fleet should lie off and on to wait for 'a carreck that comes to Mousambege every yeare'. 'We did chase a Portingale fregat with three barges, and sett her up and fought withe her and had 5 men spoyld and were forcd to put off from her, in regard it was night and the ships a great way from us.' *July* 21. Bore up for Mozambique. *July* 22. Anchored in the Road. *July* 31. Sailed again. *August* 4. Anchored at 'St. John' [Johanna]. *August* 20. Departed. *September* 27. Saw the Indian coast. *September* 30. Reached Swally. The *Jonas* had arrived two or three days earlier. (19 *pp.*)

[1] 'Oppagods' appears on Baffin's map (1619), a little to the south of 'Carapam' [Khārepātan]. This is copied from the map in the English edition of Linschoten, where it appears as 'Opagod'.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY EDWARD AUSTIN IN THE *HART* (*Ibid.*, vol. xlvii. p. 38).

1628, *March* 12. The fleet sailed. *March* 15. Reached Danda-Rājpurī. *March* 17. Anchored at Dābhol. Captain Hall went into the harbour with the *Hopewell* and *Refuge*, and brought out a junk and a frigate, after firing a hundred shots at the town. *March* 18. Sailed. *March* 20. The *Hopewell* chased two junks into 'Tambona'. *March* 27. The *Refuge* left for Batavia.[1] *March* 28. The fleet sailed. *March* 29. Reached 'Rashapore'. *April* 4. The *Star* and the *Hopewell* went to 'Callepatana' for water. *April* 5. Sailed. *April* 6. Were off Goa. *April* 7. Anchored at 'Angidue'. *April* 10. Off Mangalore took two junks with coco-nuts. *April* 11. Captured another junk and anchored at 'Mountalee'. *April* 14. Anchored two leagues from Cochin. *April* 15. Fired at a squadron of thirteen frigates. *May* 23. Saw 'the Degorayes' [Rodriguez]. *May* 28. Reached Mauritius. *June* 7. The *William* came in. *June* 18. The fleet sailed. *June* 21. Passed 'the English Forrest' [*see* p. 263]. *June* 27. The *William* departed for England. *July* 1. Sighted Madagascar. *July* 6. Anchored in 'Augustin Bay'. *July* 11. Set sail, in company with the *Eagle*, which was in the road when they arrived. *July* 19. Reached the African coast. *July* 20. The ships' boats attacked a frigate, but were beaten off, with six men hurt. *July* 22. Anchored off Mozambique. *July* 23. The boats went ashore and came back with some oranges and lemons and 12 or 16 negro prisoners. *July* 24. The *Hopewell* and the pinnace *John* were sent to look for vessels. *July* 25. They chased a boat ashore. *July* 31. The fleet sailed. *August* 4. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 20. Stood over to Mohilla (the *Eagle* still in company). Sailed for Surat. *September* 27. 'Fell with the land of St. Johns.' *September* 30. Anchored at Swally Bar, and found there the *Jonas* and *Expedition*, newly arrived from England. *October* 2. Went into the Hole, where four Dutch ships were riding. *October* 4. Arrived the *Blessing*, the *Christopher*, and a small frigate, from Bantam; also the *Exchange* and two Hollanders from the Red Sea. (20¾ *pp.*)

[1] ['Bantan' in margin.]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY PETER ANDREWS[1] (*Marine Records*, vol. xlix. p. 24).

1628, *March* 12. Sailed. *March* 15. Anchored at 'Danda'. *March* 17. Sailed to Dābhol. *March* 18. Having made two prizes, they departed. *March* 19. Anchored at 'Gouncore' [*see* p. 255]. *March* 20. Went into 'Tambona'. *March* 24. A boat came from 'Ragapore', with a 'Portingall' (who 'came passenger with us the voyage before to Dabull' [*see* p. 254]), inviting the English to come and trade at that place; whereupon it was decided that the *Mary*, *Hart*, and *Star* should go thither, leaving the *Hopewell*, *Refuge*, and the frigate behind. *March* 27. The *Refuge* started for Batavia. *March* 28. The three ships sailed but overshot their destination and anchored at 'Gauncore' once more. *March* 29. Reached 'Ragapore' [Jaitāpur]. 'This baye is a most dainty bay to ride in . . . and is a most daynty place for all manner of fishe, and for oysters no better in the world. The people used us very kindly.' *April* 4. Moved to 'Carrapotan', where the *Star* and *Hopewell* explored the bay 'and fownd it a most brave harbour'. *April* 5. The fleet sailed. *April* 6. Passed Goa. *April* 7. Anchored at the island of 'Angudua'. *April* 8. Set sail. *April* 10. Reached Mangalore; sailed again and captured two junks. *April* 11. Took a third junk, and went in under 'Mount Dillee'. *April* 12. Departed. *April* 14. Anchored at Cochin. *April* 15. Fired at a squadron of frigates, 'but they rewe awaye'. Resumed the voyage. *April* 16. 'Strock downe 20 peece of ordnance'.[2] *May* 23. Saw 'Digoe Royze'. *May* 24. Endeavoured to land, but could not do so on account of the surf. *May* 27. Sighted Mauritius. *May* 28. Warped into a harbour there. *June* 7. The *William* anchored 'thwart of Turtle Baye'. *June* 18. Sailed. They had careened and ballasted the *Mary*, and taken in water and provisions. *June* 26. The *William* departed. *July* 1. Saw the southern coast of Madagascar. *July* 6. Reached 'Augusteene Bay', where they found the *Eagle*. *July* 10. Andrews was made master of the *Hart*. *July* 11. The fleet sailed. *July* 19. Saw land. *July* 20. Chased a vessel, which proved to be

[1] In the *Mary* till July 10; after that in the *Hart*.

[2] i.e. they put most of their guns into the hold, as there was little likelihood of fighting in those waters.

'a great Portingall friggott and full of menn and well appointed'. The *Hart's* barge made an attack, but, as the other boats failed to support her, she was beaten off with seven men badly hurt. *July* 22. Came into Mozambique Road. *July* 23. A force was landed, which burnt some Portuguese houses and brought back twenty slaves. *July* 25. The *Hopewell* returned, with a captured Portuguese boat. *July* 31. The fleet sailed for the Comoro Islands. *August* 4. Anchored at Johanna. *August* 7. The *Star* began to take in the *Eagle's* lading; and the *Hopewell* went to Mohilla. *August* 20. The fleet departed. *September* 27. Sighted the coast of India. *September* 30. Reached the Bar of Swally, where the *Jonas* and *Expedition* were riding. There were four Dutch ships in the Hole. *October* 3. The *Blessing*, *Exchange*, *Christopher*, and two Hollanders came in sight. *November* 11. The *Mary* sailed for Bantam. *November* 18. The *Hart* began to lade for England. *November* 25. Three Dutch ships sailed for Batavia. *December* 8. The *Hart's* destination was changed to Persia. *December* 12. A prize burnt by the Portuguese frigates, with the loss of about thirty men. ($21\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Captain Christopher Brown at Swally to the President at Surat, March 11, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 558).

Is sorry to hear they must miss the Agra caravan. Captain Hall had departed before the letter arrived. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *p.*)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, March 12, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 558).

Have received the 6,000 mahmūdīs; also 1,490 from the Governor for sheet lead sold to him. The goods were cleared on the 10th, and yesterday the Ahmadābād caravan was sent on to Surat, carrying also some cotton yarn and cloth from this place. Yesterday arrived a second consignment from Ahmadābād, in company with the goods of the Dutch; will forward them as soon as possible. (*Copy.* 1 *p.* *Received March* 13.)

Nathaniel Mountney, Nathaniel Wyche, and William Fremlen at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, March 16, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 562).

Nothing heard yet of the goods sent from Surat for transmission to Agra; but Hopkinson, who left last Tuesday, met them two days ago on the other side of the river, and so they will be here shortly. Have remitted Rs. 10,000 to Agra by exchange, and hope to send a similar amount shortly. The exchange is very high, 'being 97 for 100.' Cannot get rid of the 'sunneeas' [*see* p. 235] sent up, except at a loss; they cost 30⅛ mahmūdīs in Surat, but here are only worth Rs. 12¾, equivalent to 28¾ mahmūdīs. The necessity of getting funds to pay their sugar merchants, 'being banjarres,[1] and therefore cannot stay for their monies,' has induced them to pledge the gold for Rs. 8,000, at one-half per cent. interest. Offer for lead in exchange for indigo; request instructions. The 'rowtee' [Hind. *rāotī*, a small tent] will be brought down by Tottle and the rest. *P.S.*—Report a further offer for the lead. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.* *Received March* 21.)

Gregory Clement, John Bangham, and Ralph Cartwright at Agra to the Same, March 17, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 580).

The caravan has now been dispatched, but only after much trouble, first with their creditors and the camelmen, and then with the King, for buying and transporting saltpetre without authority. 'Gregory Clement and John Bangham weare kept a whole daie and night prisoners in the castle. At last, after enquirie, the King gave licence; and wee, giving a bribe and present to his mynion, Reza Bauder,[2] weare released, and our caphila had leave to departe, and moreover obteyned licence for the buying of 2,000 m[au]ns more. The Dutch hath been troubled concerning saltpeter in like manner.' The caravan started on the 11th. Invoice now forwarded. Rs. 2,000

[1] Hind. *banjārā*, itinerant dealers, mostly in grain and salt. They are often referred to under the name of *brinjarries*.

[2] See note on p. 240, *supra*, and the introduction to the previous volume, p. xxv.

advanced to Bangham for charges on the way. Had hopes of selling Abbot's emeralds to Mīr Mūsā, but he has returned them. He recently lent the factors Rs.[1] 1,500, which proved very useful. On the strength of Vīrjī Vorā's letter of credit they succeeded in borrowing Rs. 5,000, and 'Bimgee' guaranteed a loan of Rs. 3,000 for them. They have had the greatest trouble for want of means to clear their caravan, and hope never to undergo the like. Estate of the late Justinian Offley. His cousin, Robert Clitherow, privately conveyed away a bill of debt of his own for 200*l.*, as acknowledged in a note quoted at length. Refer also to a consultation held here on December 31, in which Clitherow's demeanour, carriage, and proceedings were censured. Send 'the Kings laskars accompt', as it stands in their books. Bangham forwards a journal and ledger, and desires that they may be dispatched to England in lieu of those already sent down. 'Since our last wee vissited the Nabob Assuffe Caun, to whome wee had frendlie accesse, himselfe promising his favour and furtherance in all our occasions. Yesterdaie hee feasted the King sumptuouslie att his owne house. The present occurrences in court is a gennerall lessening of former livings and mayntenance of all degrees of the late Kings amraws and servants, with dispeed of divers of them to sundrie parts of theis dominions.' *P.S.*—Bangham has been detained here for various purposes, but leaves to-morrow to overtake the caravan. Muqarrab Khān still delays the settlement of his account. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.* *Received April* 5.)

Gregory Clement and Ralph Cartwright at Agra to the Same, March 17, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 584).

Eight fardles of saltpetre left behind, owing to the camels falling into a well and breaking their necks. Have recovered the camel-hire, and will keep the saltpetre till the next caravan. Request two crooked sword-blades for a friend at court; also two or three handsome cases of strong waters, which 'wilbee verry acceptable to divers of the amraws here, especiallie Assaphe Caun'. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received April* 5.)

[1] Here (and elsewhere in the present volume) 'Rs.' means 'rupees', not 'rials'.

Captain Matthew Morton at Swally to the President at Surat, March 17, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 559).

Assures him that he is not unmindful of the fate of the *Whale*. Will not take in any light goods, as tobacco and cotton wool, till the Company's rice has been received, and then the ship will be nearly full. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

The Same to the Same, March 18, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 560).

The ship has its water and wood aboard, and by to-night will take in the Moors' cloth. She will then be full; and he urges that either the President or Mr. Wylde should come down and dispatch them. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

Robert Clitherow at 'Antree'[1] to the Same, March 18, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 579).

Last night, being at Gwalior with the caravan, he received their letters of February 25, which, after perusal, he sent on to Agra. The caravan consists of 261 camels, laden with indigo and saltpetre. It cannot now be at Surat in time to catch the ships for England. Goodwin accompanies him, Bangham having stayed behind for reasons best known to himself. (*Copy*. ½ *p*. *Received April* 2.)

William Martin and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, March 20, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 560).

Martin hopes to be at Surat in five or six days. Send an account of money disbursed in clearing the goods. The letter has been forwarded to Baroda. *Annexed*.—The account referred to.[2] (*Copy*. 2¼ *pp*. *Received March* 21.)

[1] Antri, 12 miles south of Gwalior.

[2] The duty levied was 1¼ mahmūdīs 4 pice per 100 mahmūdīs of estimated value; but on the goods for Ahmadābād the Customer was paid 360 mahmūdīs 'for undervalluing', while his subordinates received 37 mahmūdīs in fees; and similar bribes were given in the case of the caravan for Surat. There were further charges for porterage, carriage, duties at Ankleswar (56 mahmūdīs for 20 carts), &c.

RICHARD BARBER AT BARODA TO THE SAME, MARCH 20, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 570).

Yesterday dispeeded 14 carts, laden with 52 bales of goods. Southaike will accompany them with a guard. Encloses the invoice. (*Copy.* ¾ *p. Received March* 23.)

ROBERT CLITHEROW AND JOHN GOODWIN AT 'NERRER'[1] TO THE SAME, MARCH 21, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 584).

The caravan has reached this place in safety. Bangham has not yet overtaken them. The King's farmān 'is in divers places obeyed, and in some not regarded, in which places wee are forced to paie as they please'. (*Copy.* ¾ *p. Received April* 6.)

NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY, NATHANIEL WYCHE, AND WILLIAM FREMLEN AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE SAME, MARCH 21, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 573).

Tāj Khān has promised his utmost assistance in remitting money to Agra. Sent thither bills for Rs. 10,000 eight days ago, and hope soon to make another remittance of the same amount. At present the exchange is very high; 'they will give but 100 for 97¼.' If Mr. Barker's carpets are not bought by the Governor, they shall be sent with the jewels, &c., to Agra, along with the other goods brought by Robert Tottle. 'Mirza Muckey', the Dīwān, is bound thither in five or six days, and they propose to let them proceed in his company. Yesterday arrived 'Cojah Jehaun' [Khwāja Jahān], who was Dīwān formerly and is now appointed to succeed to that office. Will let Tottle have their old bay horse, though he is scarcely fit for service; and will send the other one along with him. Have concluded the bargain for indigo in exchange for lead. *P.S.*—The quicksilver has been delivered to Tāj Khān. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp. Received March* 26.)

[1] 'Four munsells [*manzil*, a stage] a this side Guallere' [Gwalior]. Narwār, 23 miles NE. of Sipri, is probably intended.

Captain Christopher Brown, aboard the *William* at Swally, to the President at Surat, March 24, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. p. 571).

Fears that they cannot find room for the cotton yarn, as the silk occupies more space than was expected. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

William Martin, Nathaniel West, and Jeremy Shuker at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, March 25, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 571).

Yesterday sent off the Baroda goods, and some of their own. Enclose an invoice for the latter. The Ahmadābād goods were dispeeded over the river to-day, 'but customed att randome,' as the particulars were not accurately known, owing to want of advice from the factors there. A parcel of fine blue baftas sent in the care of Southaike. As directed, Martin will remain three or four days longer, by which time they hope the rest of their goods will be ready. *P.S.*—Will advise later the charges on these goods. (*Copy*. 2 *pp*. *Received March* 26.)

Malachi Martin at Swally to the President at Surat, March 25, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 575).

The two country boats dismissed, their services not being needed at present. Goods shipped on board the *William*. Cartage of the lead. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

Captain John Hall, Richard Predys, Andrew Evans, Peter Elliott, John Pashley, and Daniel White, aboard the *Mary* in 'Tamona' Road, to the President and Council at Bantam, March 27, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 457).

In accordance with instructions from Surat they now dispeed this ship, the *Refuge*, with letters, &c. Narrate their proceedings at Dābhol. The rice found in the captured junk has been put on board the *Refuge*. Two Malabar junks chased into 'this poart of Tamana' [*see* p. 254], taken, and sold. Yesterday a messenger came from 'Sibbo Sibo, chief governer of all the poorts belonging to the Lydall Shaw' [*sic*], offering to procure the King's farmān for trade

if they would settle a factory at 'Carap[atan]', and promising to supply 2,000 tons of pepper yearly at 9 or 10 'lareis' per maund. Have accordingly sent him some draft articles of agreement (copy enclosed), and intend to wait four or five days for his reply. As the letters from Surat may be urgent, they have thought it best to dispatch the *Refuge* at once. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, RICHARD WYLDE, JOHN SKIBBOW, AND GEORGE PAGE AT SURAT TO THE SAME, MARCH 28, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 456).[1]

Enclose a copy of their last letter, dated March 8, sent by the pinnace *Refuge*. Now forward the blue calicoes therein promised. The *Exchange* sailed on March 22 for Mokha, and was followed within an hour by two Dutch ships.[2] The *William* is lading for England, and will sail about April 10 or 12. No intelligence yet to hand from Masulipatam. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY, NATHANIEL WYCHE, AND WILLIAM FREMLEN AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 28, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 577).

Send an invoice of the goods dispeeded on the 25th. Yesterday forwarded to Agra bills for Rs. 12,000, and hope to remit a further sum of Rs. 8.000 shortly. Their broker has heard from that city that the English caravan is detained for the clearing of the saltpetre. This commodity can now be bought here for Rs. 1½ per maund. Tottle will bring samples of new Sarkhej indigo, the price of which is Rs. 12¾ and Rs. 14¼ [per maund]. Calicoes are also cheap. The goods for Agra depart out of the town to-morrow. 'Mirza Muckey' has deferred his departure, but, as there is a 'caphila' about to start, they will not wait for him. The looking-glass intended for Agra has been detained, as it needs repairs, and then they hope to sell it here. Send a copy of Mr. Hopkinson's ledger. (*Copy.* 2 *pp. Received April* 2.)

[1] There is a second copy at p. 459 of the same volume. This letter was sent in one of the Dutch ships (see next page).

[2] The *Bommel* and the *Wesp*.

Captain Christopher Brown, aboard the *William* at Swally, to the President and Council at Surat, March 29, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 576).

Has received their letters and will deliver them to 'the comandore Johnson' [*see* note on p. 182], whom he visits to-day. Thanks the President for a quilt. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, April 2, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 576).

The rough weather has hindered their lading. Thinks the ship had better go over the bar, in case the monsoon comes sooner than is expected. Would be glad of two native boats to help in getting off the goods. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, April 3, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 580).

The damaged sugar will be used in the ship. The weather has improved. Mr. Martin should be instructed to provide them with carts early in the morning, which is the best time for work. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, April 4, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 585).

Requests them to hasten the sending down of goods. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received April* 5.)

President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, and John Skibbow at Surat to the President and Council at Bantam, April 7, 1628 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 455).[1]

According to promise [*see* p. 225], they have again called Charles Clark to account for 375 rials said to be due to the estate of 'Elyas Kudryan'; his answer is contained in the accompanying letter. *P.S.*—Have sent a few lines by the Dutch admiral, dated March 28, 1628; also 12 pieces of fine dyed calicoes. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Captain Christopher Brown, aboard the *William* [at Swally], to the President and Council at Surat, April 9, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 585).

The hold was shut before their letter arrived, but the pepper shall be stowed in the lower gunroom. All the saltpetre left out, besides some gum-lac, and a bale of indigo that got wet. Nine

[1] There is another copy in the same volume (p. 464).

jars of lamp-oil landed; the rest they must keep. (*Copy.* ½ *p.* *Received April* 10.)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY APRIL 14, 1628 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 27).

They know not what to do, seeing the great disconformity of shipping to the stock sent out. The charge consumes both principal and profit. Two hundred thousand pounds more than they have would be little enough to dispatch the ships already here and leave a competent stock for investment. (*Extract only.* ⅛ *p.*)

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT WYLDE, JOHN SKIBBOW, GEORGE PAGE, AND RICHARD BARBER TO THOMAS KERRIDGE AND CHRISTOPHER BROWN, PROCEEDING TO ENGLAND IN THE *WILLIAM*, APRIL 14, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 121).

The season being far spent, they are to use all possible expedition in their voyage. 'According therfore to our masters respects and power yearly [*sic*] given to the place of Presedencie in Surratt, continued and confirmed by the immediate letters pattents of His Majestie of England, we, the now President and Councell, to whom the ordering and mannaging of whatsoever concerneth the Honourable Companies bussines or affaires within our limited precincts is referred, and warranted by vertue of our foresaid Kings Majesties commission,' appoint Kerridge to be 'cheife commaunder', 'to governe with such authority during the present voyage as by virtue of the aforesayd our Kings Majesties letters pattents, addressed to the President and Councell of Surratt [*see* p. 65], doth warrant'; and he is 'to ly in the great cabbin with Captain Christofer Browne'. The accommodation to be afforded to Martin, Benthall, and Tottle is referred to his discretion. The ship is to go straight to Mauritius to meet Captain Hall's fleet, and, after taking in provisions, to sail with him until a separation becomes necessary. Whether a call shall be made at the Cape is left to their discretion. To be on the watch against attacks from enemies. All matters of importance to be decided by a council composed of Kerridge, Brown, Martin, Benthall, William Peirce (master), and John Hunter, Kerridge having a casting vote. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

President Bix, George Muschamp, and Richard Steel at Bantam to the Factors at Jambi, June 20, 1628 (*O.C.* 1273).

. . . 'The great hindrance that the dissolving of Mesulapatans factory wilbe in the gennerall of our trade you do well fall in reckning of, and wee with you fall not short therein; but such a strict command have wee for its dissolucion that must have nothing but its observance. Hope wee have to light upon some other place affoording the same commodity of white cloth neere to Armagon, whereof wee have advized now lately; which if it fall to be so, wee shalbe better to pass then before, the abuse at Mesulapatan being growne unsuferable by the evell disposicion of the Governour there.' . . . Captain Slade arrived on March 24 from Surat with the *Blessing* and two Portuguese prizes of 200 and 80 tons respectively; the one was laden with cinnamon, the other with 'dried penang' [areca-nut: Malay *pinang*] and coco-nuts. They have renamed them the *Cinnamon* and the *Coco-nut*, and intend to send the former to Jambi. . . . The *Blessing* is to return to Surat and to take in all the *Christopher's* present lading, besides the cinnamon and other goods. The *Refuge* of about 80 tons arrived from Surat on May 21, 'purposely for municion from us to furnish a fortifficacion intended by them.' She was accordingly sent to Batavia two days later to fetch the stores left there, but she was blown over by a gust of wind and sank within sight of this road.[1] Most of her 'furniture' and a quantity of goods have been since recovered. As she is no longer available, they intend to dispatch the *Christopher* and the *Coco-nut* to Surat with the *Blessing*, about eight days hence. . . . *P.S.*—Three Dutch ships have reached Batavia from Surat with 1,000 bales of goods. . . . (1 *p.*)

Narrative of the Visit of [the *Exchange*] to Aden, August, 1628 (*O.C.* 1278).[2]

In the afternoon of August 15, 1628, they anchored about a mile and a half from the castle. The same evening a boat came off,

[1] See the account in *Marine Records*, vol. li.

[2] Signed by Captain Matthew Morton, Joseph Hopkinson, John Norris, William Fall, John Roberts, John White, Lawrence Fisher, Francis Stockton, and Anthony Rumsy (?)

bringing two 'beefes' and two goats, with a message from the Governor that a pinnace [the *Scout*] belonging to the Company was in his port, and that there were two Englishmen a day's journey up in the country; that he was ready to deliver up the vessel and the men, and to make satisfaction for any goods that were missing. The men in the boat said that nine Englishmen came in the pinnace, two of whom died in Aden, and five up country. A letter was written to the Governor of Aden, and another to the Governor of the place where the two survivors were understood to be, announcing that the ship had come to receive the pinnace and its crew, the surrender of which had been promised in the letter sent to Mokha. Next morning an answer came from the Governor that he had forwarded their letter, 'with som other frevelus complements.' They replied that they would have sent him a present if he had not chosen a fisherman to be his messenger, and that they were ready to put two men ashore to confer with him if he would send off two suitable hostages. In the afternoon he replied in two or three scornful lines that he durst not send pawns until he knew his master's will, meaning the Governor to whom they had written, whose answer they should have next day. They waited all next day for the promised reply, and at five o'clock in the evening, they being then at supper on the half-deck, 'hee sent us answer by a greate shott from a platforme, which fell close by our quarter, very neare one of our boates, and presently annother which fell short a great way.' They did not retaliate, as their ordnance would not reach the town. Next day they hoisted a white flag on the poop for a parley, and were preparing the barge to go off with a second flag of truce, when there came a shot from the castle, followed by several others. They then fired a gun, but the shot went only two-thirds of the way; and as it was no use staying to be fired at, while farther out the road was dangerous, they agreed to set sail for Surat. This was done the same morning, being August 18, 1628. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* *Endorsed:* 'Writings from Captaine Mooreton, 1633,[1] of his entertainement at Aden, 1628.')

[1] Morton died in November, 1631. This narrative was no doubt found among his papers sent home.

THE REMOVAL FROM MASULIPATAM TO ARMAGON (*O.C.* 1280)[1].

Consultation held in Masulipatam by George Brewen, Thomas Johnson, and Lawrence Henley, September 11, 1628. Forasmuch as the Company has decided to dissolve these factories on the Coast of Coromandel, for which purpose the Bantam Council promised to send a vessel, yet nothing has been heard of her dispatch, it is thought fitting, 'not onlie for savinge of charge, to joyne both our factories into one, butt also bee a meanes in a peaceable manner to procure our masters debts by removing ourselves to Armagon; butt in the first place have thought itt fitting to remove our masters estate of goods into a place (as the cause nowe standeth) of more safftie, for the which wee have intreated the Dutch there assistance to transporte them for Pallicat, giving itt oute to the Moores etc. that wee, having noe shipps come, for gayning of tyme doe transporte these goods for Battavia; unto all which our demands the Dutch Governour did in all willing manner condesend. Pullicatt wee conceave a place not only for saving of charges butt, all circumstances considered, more convenient then Armagon.' They must leave without the knowledge of the Moors, for the latter will assuredly refuse to permit their departure, fearing that, once they are free, they will take revenge for 'soe many and bad and basse usage in our persons, trade, and debts'. To prevent this, the natives will probably offer reparation when the English are out of their power. As they have thought it unfit to use the Dutch for transport of their persons, they have bought a boat, which will come in handy at Armagon for capturing Portuguese vessels bound for 'St. Thomee'. Three special points to be considered, by the Company's order, are the keeping of their house, the maintenance of their privileges, and the procuring of their debts. 'For the howse, itt is att yearlie rent, to deare, owld and rotten. For our privilidges, they were made in the tyme of Mr. Floris and Lucas[2] by the Governour of this place att the tyme then being, butt all broken and of little valliditie; and if att any tyme here-

[1] For a transcript made in 1787 see *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 169.

[2] See *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. pp. 320 *et seq.*

after our masters intend the reestablishing of these places, wee doubte not but of privilidges larger and performance better then of late wee have had, for att present the intercourse of all merchandizing tends onlie to the inriching of the Governour and the impoverishing the Cristians. And to prove wee shall bee wellcom uppon condicions resonable, and alsoe performance in this, is to bee understoode that the welth and welfare of the kingdome of Golcondath doth consist in itts inland manyfactures, which findes most or all his vent by sea transporte, shipped by the most parte by Moores and the least parte by the Cristians; and therfore dare not make an enimie of soe powerfull a naccion as the English. And for procuring of debts, wee conceave there cannot bee devized a more licklie course, as formerly hath ben expressed. Yett understanding itt nott fitting altogeather to leave Mesulap[atam], not onlie to see whatt maye bee done for sayle of the purslaine, the smale remaynder of the cloves and sandall, butt alsoe for poynt of possession for the trade of this place, least in our absence the Dutch putt some tricks uppon our masters in Europe by pleading nonposs[ess]ion in the kingdome of Golcondath,' it is decided to leave a sufficient man [Richard Hudson *in margin*] with instructions to give up this great house, and take a small one, and to put off the porcelain as best he can, 'knowing that to shipp the same for Bantam is little better then (as the saying is) to ship colles for Newcastle,' and to take it elsewhere would mean loss by breakage and theft. There is also a great parcel of wood called 'sandall of Madagasker', for which no one will make an offer; some has been used for the house, and the rest is to be written off. (*Copy.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Letter from the Factors to 'Mirpass'[1], *Governor of Masulipatam (undated).* 'Lett itt not seeme strange that wee have all departed from the towne of Mesulap[atam] withoute giveing you the salam [*see* p. 232]. Wee must tell you to make you acquainted with our departure wold happilie bee thought a kinde of asking leave, which is the state of a servant to his master, but to you noe such dutie wee owe. The causes that moveth us to departe are many, and all of them have had there begetting and begining from your predecessour Mamatucke [Mahmūd Taqī] and is continewed by

[1] Later on his name is given as 'Mirpsse' (*sic*). Mr. S. H. Bilgrami suggests Mīr Abbās.

you withoute hope of reformation, which [wee ?] make noe question but are done withoute the previtie and good lyking of your King and his Councell. Butt afore wee begin to particular our grevances [wee ?] must tell you there is noe sort of cloth that this cuntrie yeldeth but the like is to bee had in other partes soe good and as cheape as here; soe that your [*sic*] supposed necessitie of the trade of this place is nothing less. And this pointe doth well appeare by the litle or noe trade that of late our masters have had, butt dryving a trade elsewhere with soe many and greate shipps as you cannot bee ignorant of; and have ben discorraged from the trade of this place by the unsufferable abusses by you and your predecessor Mametucke comitted. And thus much [wee ?] thought fitting to express ourselves, the better to make you understand yourselfe.' Their special grievances are as follows: (1) He has farmed the trade of merchandizing to three 'Gentew committies' [*see* p. 8] for a great sum of money yearly, 'and yett yourselfe the greatest [?] marchant.' (2) He has debarred all other 'Gentewe comitties' from dealing with the English. (3) 'Noe cuntrie comittie dare bee soe hardie as to com within the presinct of your goverment uppon payne of beating and his goods forced from him'; and thus freedom of trade is denied. (4) 'Of late[1] by your predecessor Mamatucke, both for your inland made goods and alsoe farran goods brought into your land, both tending to the discorraging and ruine of trade.' (5) 'Your predicessour Mamatucke and you have infringed our previlige and the antient custom of the land, which is that, withoute leave asking, [wee ?] could and did arrest the persons of such as were in our debts and keept them in durance till contentment given.' They applied to him for justice for money owing by 'Lingana', 'Rama', and others, but have been put off with promises. The result of these wrongs is that the English, being restricted to certain merchants, must both sell and buy at whatever rates and in whatever manner the latter please. Further, they complain of 'the unsufferable dishonnour proffered to a principall of the English by your basse coveteouse Cattwall[2] for noe offence att talle butte only to picke a quarrill

[1] Some words have evidently been omitted. Presumably the reference is to special customs charges (see later).

[2] *Kotwāl*, an official who was responsible for keeping order in the town.

to gitt a greate som of money'; for this they expect reparation. These abuses have forced them to quit the place, and he must not think it strange if they resent them. 'And nowe resteth to express what our desire is that you wold bee pleased to grante us such previlidges as wee att our first entrance and many yeares after, untill the coming of your predicessour Mamatucke, injoyed.' (1) That all men may trade freely with the English. (2) 'That all newe juncans [*see note on* p. 131] for us the English nation be foreboren, only paying the antient custom of the land as att the first.' (3) That they may freely transport their goods to any part of the kingdom of Golconda, paying the ancient duty and no more. (4) That the former right of arresting and imprisoning debtors may be restored. (5) That they may be at liberty to chastise their servants for offences, and that the latter 'maye bouldlie deliver to you our myndes withoute your displeasure'. Finally, they commend to him Richard Hudson, who is to remain behind. (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

A remembrance for Richard Hudson, September 26, 1628. He has been chosen as the fittest man to remain here. After their departure he is to proceed as follows. (1) He is to have the letter to the Governor (which is already 'sett over into Portuges') translated into 'the Mooris languadge', which may be done by the 'scoolmaster'. It should then be delivered to the Governor, copies being also made for the 'Savandore' [*see* p. 212] and the Persian ambassador, 'that the world maye take knowlidge the just causes wee have to withdrawe ourselves; and alsoe that these people may take knowlidg of the cuning working of the Dutch to eate us oute of trade, which (for that wee wold not to them give offence) is butt darklie written.'[1] (2) He is at once to leave this great house, 'which is rotten and falling downe' and over-rented, and take a smaller. (3) To get rid of his porcelain on any terms he can obtain. (4) To dismiss all servants but a cook and two 'blacks', giving them two months' wages at departure. (5) To sell the cloves and sandal at any price he can get. If any letters come from Surat, they should be forwarded at once. In the event

[1] 'It should seeme then that the Dutch had free libertie to sell to whome they would and to buy of whome they pleased in Musilpa[tam], whereas we were in both restreined to the Governor only or his deputies.' (*Marginal note, made in London.*)

of any English ship arriving, he is to send the accompanying letter on board immediately. The Mozambique sandal is to be removed to the new house. Trust that their debtors will make satisfaction, in which case he is not to accept 'red percalloe and red bittiles [*see* p. 6] (in which commodities is gaine not worth the name of an Indian trade),' but he may take other calicoes, especially 'long-cloth and salampoores (both of them the most vendablest and profittablest goods); alsoe white percalloes, moorees [*see previous volume*, p. 103], and bittiles,' besides 'tape chindes' at current prices. However, for the porcelain he may accept any goods that may be offered. (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

Letter from the Factors to the Master of any ship arriving at Masulipatam, September 26, 1628. Have removed to Armagon, leaving only Richard Hudson at Masulipatam, who will send this letter on board by some 'cattamaronce'[1]. He is warned not to land any of his crew, but to sail at once to Armagon. Should he be in need of water, &c., they hope some Dutch ship will supply him. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

'*September the* 27*th.* Wee lefte Masulapatam, and in a smale bote wee tooke our passadge for Armagon, our intents unknowne to the Moores or any that wee ment to leave Mussalapatam. And thus much passed before and uppon leaving Mesulapatam.' (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{8}$ *p.*)

DANIEL HALL'S[2] ACCOUNT OF THE OUTWARD VOYAGE OF THE *EXPEDITION* (*Marine Records*, vol. l. p. 1).

1628, *March* 6. Sailed from Blackwall. *March* 16. Anchored in the Downs. *March* 27. Departed. *March* 31. Lost sight of the Lizard. *April* 10. Saw one of the Canary Islands. *July* 3. Passed the Cape. *July* 26. Sighted Madagascar. *July* 28. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay. *August* 5. Sailed again. *August* 17. Reached Mohilla. *August* 20. Departed. *September* 8. Spoke a junk from the Red Sea. *September* 25. Saw the Indian coast. *September* 29. Captain Swanley sent his boat to Swally to announce his approach. *September* 30. Anchored at Swally Bar.

[1] The last three letters are not quite distinct. 'Catamaran' (see the previous volume, p. 143) is intended.

[2] He was one of the master's mates.

Saw Captain Hall's fleet. *October* 2. The President came aboard the *Jonas*. Anchored in Swally Hole, and found there the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, *Christopher*, and a Portuguese prize. *November* 10. The *Royal Mary* sailed for Bantam. *November* 16. James Presson and James Shipman, master's mates, died. *December* 11. The prize burnt, with the loss of some thirty men. (14 *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT WYLDE AND MESSRS. HOPKINSON, PAGE, AND BOOTHBY, OCTOBER 10, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 123).[1]

In order to meet the wishes of the Company (expressed in their letter of March 12 last) 'to have their shipps laden home, though with grossest comodities,' it is decided to pay off only the most urgent of their creditors here, and to continue the other loans at interest in order to lade as many vessels as possible. Disposal of the ships. The *Exchange* and *Blessing* are to prepare for their voyage home, accompanied by the *Star*; and the *Hart* is to follow on her return from Persia. It is decided to send the *Jonas*, *Hart*, *Eagle*, *Christopher*, *Expedition*, *Hopewell*, and *Coco-nut* with freight goods to Persia (in company with the Dutch), as this course is deemed preferable to their lying idle here. Richard 'Priddis' [Predys] and Jeronimo de Paiva are to proceed in the fleet as merchants. The *Mary* and the pinnace *John* are to be dispatched to Bantam with the goods returned from Mokha on the *Exchange* and a few others. Malachi Martin and Jeremy Shuker are allowed to proceed in those vessels with a view to employment at Bantam. 'In the roome of Jeromy Shukar and Simon Biddulph (whom wee likwise intend to call from Baroch) is appointed John Norris second, and [*blank*] to keepe their petty expences etc.; John Willoughby, in respect of his language, factor att the Mareen, and to attend other occacions here; Peter Munday and William Knightly (who came on the *Exchange* from the Redd Sea) to assist and write in the office; and for the better resolucion of all important matters, Richard Boothby ordained fourth in Council, to keepe the cash and follow the custome house.' Leave granted to Joseph Hopkinson, John Bangham, Robert Clitherow, and

[1] Thomas Smith appears as 'Register' of these and the following consultations down to the end of the year.

William Hall (in addition to the passengers in the *Eagle*) to proceed to England on the next ship. It is decided to accept a bill for 100 tūmāns drawn by William Burt, Agent in Persia, payable to George Williamson, in the absence of Mahmūd Hasan, servant to 'Haggee Sallee' [Hājī Sālih?]; this is done to maintain the reputation of their masters' business, but they suspect 'some indirect and sinister proceeding' therein. 'The great abuse and prejudice our masters have suffered by too much excesse of private trade, filling upp and pestering their shipps with grose and cumbersome comodities, as tobacco and cotton woll, with the intollerable damage accrewing by buying of rice, butter, sugar, sugar candie, meale, oyle, and other provicions, transporting them in great quantities to other places, wherby such necessaries can hardly bee acquired to supply our shipps present wants, was next in question; and for remedy and prevencion thereof resolved an extraordinary charge and commaund to be given unto the commaunders, merchants, masters, pursers, stewards, and their mates, and all other officers, that they neither lade themselves nor suffer to be laden att any time aboard their severall shipps any of the aforespecified goods, more then what shalbe sent aboard by this President and Councell, as well for trade and commerce as for provicion for our people aboard the sayd shipps, under paine of confiscacion of the delinquents goods found soe laden unto the Honourable Companies use, and the pursers, pursers mates and other officers of such shipps offending not only to be displaced butt also to forfeit all their wages, be sent home unto our masters uppon the next going shippe or shipps, and referred to them for what other penalty they shalbe pleased to inflict uppon them. Moreover, the great hinderance our masters bussines hath susteined by neglect of sending aboard our letters and other orders come down to the Mareen, with other semblable passages of moment, was taken to consideracion, and after mature deliberacion itt was concluded that the merchants and factors of the Mareen, together with the generall pursers mate, shall and may commaund, in all times and uppon all occacions concerning our masters affaires, all and every of the shipps barges, skiffs, and long boates to attend uppon them and give them passage too and agen from the shoare to the shipps without any delay or license from their commaunders, masters,

etc.; and any master of the barges, cockswaines, or other prime officers that have commaund of any of the aforesaid boates, denying their service in the Companies bussines shall not only be displaced and putt out of their office but condemned in the losse of six months wages, if this President and Councell shall see just cause for the same; soe shall also any commaunder, master, or other person whatsoever be fined in the forfeiture of a twelvemonths sallary, and what elce by us shalbe thought fitting, that shall strike, beate, or otherwise abuse in reviling or base language (as hath beene too much accustomed) any of our sayd merchants, purser, or pursers mate, or any other officer that belongeth unto us and out of their commaund; but uppon any abuse or misdeameanor from the sayd merchants, etc., unto any of the commaunders, masters, or other officers, they shall exhibitt their complaints unto us, who shall fine them in the like mulct, if there be just cause for the same.' It is also ordered that no commander or master shall appoint a purser, purser's mate, or other officer, 'after their comming into India,' without the approbation and consent of the President and Council. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *ROYAL MARY* [AT SWALLY] BY PRESIDENT WYLDE AND HIS COUNCIL AND THE COMMANDERS AND MASTERS OF THE FLEET[1], OCTOBER 15, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 125).

The resolutions approved on the 10th current are considered and confirmed. Crews of 125, 115, and 55 men allotted to the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star*; also 180 to the *Mary*, and 20 to the *John*. Pork and beef to be sent with other provisions to Bantam. The *Jonas* is appointed admiral of the Persia fleet, with the *Hart* and *Christopher* as vice-admiral and rear-admiral respectively; and Richard Swanley is placed in command of the ships. Four brass guns to be transferred from the *Mary* to the *Jonas*, being replaced by four whole culverins of iron from the *Exchange*. Gabriel Kennicott, purser of the *Eagle*, is permitted to go home, and Peter Wamsly, purser's mate of the *Mary*, is appointed to take his place, being succeeded by Samuel Eagles-

[1] Hall, Morton, Swanley, Slade, Evans, Pashley, and Watts.

field, who came out as an attendant on Capt. Swanley. It having been customary to land surplus stores and house them in 'Damkee' [Damka], Swally, and adjacent villages without any account being taken, it is decided to appoint Thomas Wilbraham as Clerk of the Stores, to keep due register of such goods in future. Captain Eustace Man having been accused of an offence with a youth named William Barker, it is determined that the commanders and masters of the fleet shall empanel a jury and publicly try the case. Thomas Robinson having accused the President and Council and Captain Hall of taking bribes from Man, with other calumnious aspersions, he is summoned and examined; and on his maintaining his charges and abusing the President &c., he is sent on board the *Star* to be kept in irons until further order. *Annexed*: Testimonies of Arthur Suffield, Daniel White, Robert Smith, William Mathews, and Richard Langford concerning Robinson's accusations. (*Copy. In all* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

William Bangham, aboard the *Mary Royal* in Swally Road, to John Bangham at Surat, October 21, [1628] (*O.C.* 1281).

Desires to go (with his brother's approval) to Bantam in this ship. Begs to be supplied with goods; also, that order may be given that he is not to be removed from the *Mary* at Bantam, but to proceed in her to England. It is reported that Mr. Dover, steward of the *Jonas*, is to be steward of the house at Surat and Mr. [Robert] Davison to return to England, but he believes it not. (1 *p. Much damaged. Endorsed by John Bangham as received from his brother on October* 22.)

William Burt, Robert Wodder, and Robert Loftus at Ispahān to [the Company], October 22, 1628 (*O.C.* 1282).

. . . Have heard from the *Exchange* that the *Scout* had repaired to Aden, where only were found living the master, Nathaniel Best, and one Nicholson. Mr. Hopkinson, while the *Exchange* was at Mokha, sent to inquire why the *Scout* left the fleet and why she went to Aden, but found the master's answers 'to correspond more with his name then either honestlye or advisedlye'. However, the Governor of the place offered by letter to restore the goods if the

Exchange would call there on her way, at the same time expressing a desire for trade. 'By reason of the Arabs feud with the Moores they advise us the markets at Mocha are extreame bad, few buyers and smale estate'. . . . Two Dutch ships reached Gombroon from Mokha in July to fetch away their silk, but owing to the tardy dispatch of the consignment from Ispahān they had to proceed to Surat without it. From them it was learnt that the *William*, with the President on board, sailed for England in April, carrying the silk from Persia. Regret to see the latter 'soe singlie adventured', but trust it will arrive safely. . . . The Dutch, finding little hope of benefit from the trade, upon the arrival of their last fleet debated whether or not they should 'mocion the conjoyning your strength with theirs for the surprizing Ormuz and fortes of the Gulph, therby to become joynt comaunders of all comerce'; but it was decided to refer the matter to Batavia. Their experience of the dealings of the Dutch makes it seem safer to hold friendship with the Moors. With better supplies the English might beat the Dutch quite out of the trade. 'At present the Portugall is extraordinarye weake, and smale appearance, by the intelligence wee have from the severall parts of their resids, of any forces they are liklye to make'. . . . (2 *pp. The rest of the letter deals exclusively with Persian affairs.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *EXCHANGE* BY PRESIDENT WYLDE AND THE COMMANDERS AND MASTERS OF THE FLEET,[1] OCTOBER 24, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 129).

The bales for England numbering over 5,000, it is decided to add the *Hart* to the fleet, with 100 men. The crew of the *Eagle* are to be dispersed in the various ships, to avoid conspiracy on their part. Eustace Man to go as passenger in the *Hart*, Thomas Robinson in the *Star*, Gabriel Kennicott in the *Blessing*, and Thomas Groves (his mate) in the *Exchange*. The *Little James* is to be sent up to Surat to be repaired. Richard Vincent, surgeon's mate in the *Hart*, is made surgeon of the *Christopher*; John Thomas is appointed purser's mate of the *Eagle*, and William Atkins purser of the *John*. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

[1] John Hall, Matthew Morton, James Slade, Richard Swanley, Andrew Evans, John Pashley, Thomas Watts, Alexander Ball, William Minors, and Peter Cowian.

President Bix and Council at Bantam to the Company, October 26, 1628 (*O.C.* 1283).

. . . The *Swallow* was recently sent to the Coast of Coromandel. . . . Have written to Surat for one of their largest ships, and expect her in December. . . . (¼ *p.* *The rest of the letter deals with Java &c. affairs.*)

[Thomas Taylor at Jambi to a Factor at Macassar, November —, 1628] (*O.C.* 1280).

. . . Dispeeded the *Coaster* and the *Dove* to Bantam on the 7th present, at which time the *Jude* arrived from thence, and the *Swallow* ([John] Carter, master) went by this road for Masulipatam. The latter factory is to be dissolved. . . . (*Copy.* ⅛ *p.* *The rest of the letter deals with occurrences at Jambi, &c.*)

President Wylde, Joseph Hopkinson, George Page, and Richard Boothby at Surat to the President and Council at Bantam, November 8, 1628 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 465).

Now answer their letters of June 30, brought by the *Blessing*, and June[1] 7, by the Dutch (received October 1), together with a copy of an earlier of May 19, sent by way of Masulipatam; also a private letter from Mr. Muschamp, dated June 30. The *Blessing*, *Christopher*, and pinnace *Coco-nut* arrived on October 4, and with them the *Exchange* from Mokha and two Dutch ships from Ormus, 'who went to fetch their silk, but returned without it.' The original letter of May 19 has not come to hand, and they suspect that the Dutch failed to deliver it to the Masulipatam factors. 'Our joy was not small at newes of your faire parting from the Dutch in Jaccatra' [Batavia], and they trust that the transfer to Bantam will produce the happy results expected by the Company. An amicable agreement in Europe would be the best solution of their difficulties. Note that President Hawley sailed for England last February with the *Morris* (under Thomas Waller) and the *Eagle* (under Eustace Man). Captain Hall's fleet, which arrived at Swally on October 1 from the coast of Mozambique, brought with it the *Eagle*, which

[1] July, according to the letter of November 17, which is no doubt correct.

had been found in a bad state at St. Augustine's Bay. She had lost company with the *Morris*, which it is hoped has by this time reached England. When the ships separated, Mr. Hawley was very weak 'and not like to continue his passage home'.[1] The crew of the *Eagle* were in a mutinous state, encouraged therein by Robinson and Kennicot ('both arch villaines'). They accused their captain of a heinous offence; but upon his being brought to trial nothing could be proved against him. The *Eagle* is now to go to Persia, and then upon her return will be sent to Bantam. Her goods will be dispatched to England in the *Star*, which will sail, in company with the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Hart*, about the end of December. The *Star* would have been sent away at the same time as this ship (the *Mary*), but the seamen thought it dangerous for her to make the voyage alone. Regret the loss of the *Refuge*, but rejoice that the crew and part of the goods were saved. Note what commodities are in demand at Bantam; will refrain from sending any more until further advice. Suggest that the King of Macassar may like to buy four pieces of brass ordnance now at Surat. Have not at present any Persian greyhounds, but will endeavour to procure some and send them by the *Christopher*; also a Persian horse. Inquire whether a saddle is wanted. Sandal-wood and turtle shells would sell well at Surat, the latter at 6 to 10 mahmūdīs the seer. Spices are rising in price, and will doubtless come to their former esteem when private trade is abridged. Cannot spare Bantam any large supply until the Company send a stock and give orders to that effect. The present consignment is only forwarded because it failed to find a market in Mokha. The wars and troubles hindered sales, and the *Exchange* returned 'with the greater part of her goods and the remaines of our people left their by Capt. Clevinger, vizt. William Fall and William Knightly. James Olliver deceased in Mocho, and Thomas Beale was slaine at Dabull in his returne thence uppon a jouncke of that place'. 'Here we have with the Dutch a faire and freindly outward correspondencie; what their and our harts are each to other, God and ourselves best knowe. Howsoever, on our part there shalbe no cause given to the contrarie, if we can avoid the same. Yett had

[1] The *Morris* arrived in England towards the end of October, 1628, and Hawley had then died.

we one of our marriners, gunners mate in the *Jonah*, latelie slaine by one of their people with a knife; whom they judicially condemned to dye, but upon some consideracions moving us thereunto (especiallie the English offering wronge first to the Dutch) we repaired aboard at tyme of execucion and saved his life, with others that were in his companie from corporall punishment[1]; which our act seemed to be taken gennerally as a token of trew and unfeigned freindshipps, and hath doubtles wrought upon their ill affected spiritts, as well in the principalls as comon men. Itt hath given satisfaccion also to our people, who wanted not will to have revenged the slaine mans cause.' Thank them for their account of the Moors' goods. 'And for the passage of Banians or other strangers upon our shipps into those parts as marchants, we shall, upon your now advice of the inconveniencies they bring to your trade, altogether avoid itt; although some principall Moores goods cannot well be denied, our obligacions here being of more import then can the smale quantety of goods be any dammage to the sales of our masters. The correspondency that some of your people have, both with Moores and Banians in this place, with the particuler advice given them of the valluacion and sortment of goods for that and other places, will or may bee justly held of the two the more dangerous and dishonest; would [*sic*] therefore have a remedy, as we conceive itt will by his [*sic*] calling thence for England by our masters letters unto you by the *Dove*.' The sailors returned from Bantam have been paid and dismissed 'for idle fellowes'; no more will be entertained except in cases of necessity. The biscuit sent upon the *Palsgrave* and *William* was, they understand, so little valued that it was left lying in the rain outside the factory at Bantam; however, as a further supply is now asked for, they forward what they can spare. Will recover from Kennicot the amount due for Richard Chamberlain's opium. 'The pinnace *Scout* (reported to be taken by the Portingall) was through want of water and provicions forced into Adenn, in the mouth of the Redd Sea, where she is detained, with all her men that were alive, being 8 persons, as we understand by our freinds that came from Mocho; where the *Exchange* touched in her returne thence, thinking to

[1] See Van den Broeck's *Voyagie*, p. 108, and *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 279, and vol. ix. no. 298. The culprit's name was Jan Abrahams.

have brought her away, according to the Governours promise by his letter unto our people when they were in Mocho. But at their arrivall before the towne they shott divers peeces [of] ordnance att them, whereby they understood they had no intent to surrender her nor men; they therefore came thence and left them untill better oportunity give us meanes to fetch them and take amends for these and other wrongs formerlie offred unto our people. The pinnace *Spye*, master John Phelpes, sent in sea[r]ch of the *Palsgrave*, &c., to the Ilands, after her departure thence was never heard of; her we give for utterlie lost.' The munitions sent in the *Blessing* and the rest are for the most part unserviceable. Such as are of any use will be kept, and the remainder dispatched to England, 'for we may not be suffered to land them; soe jealous are these people of us, notwithstanding we are in accion in their aide against the common enimies.' Thank them for copies of letters from the Company; but the contents were already known, partly through the Dutch and partly by a letter of March 12 brought by the *Jonah* and *Expedition*, which arrived four days before the *Blessing*. Also received Mr. Barlow's letter to the Bantam factors, but it was so badly written that they could make nothing of it. Their desire for a large ship is met by the dispatch of the *Mary*. With her is sent the pinnace taken by Capt. Hall at Dābhol last year; this may be retained at Bantam. The *Mary*, they presume, will go home from thence before long. The cinnamon is a welcome contribution towards the lading of a fourth ship for England. They have landed and repacked it, 'without any farther allowance to the seamen then their $\frac{1}{6}$ part, for all treasure, jewells, or marchandize whatsoever or in what place soever found in the shipp surprised is to be brought to the Companies account, and no pillage to be made of anie thing, marriners apparrell, &c., excepted. The Dane [*see* p. 300] taken in that prize, it seemes, is willing to returne for his countrie upon the *Blessing*.' The pilot and several other sick men have been released. The *Christopher* will be sent back to Bantam in March, together with the *Eagle* and the pinnace *Coco-nut* (now named the *Little James*). Possibly the *Jonah*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell* will accompany them, 'to winter in those parts, for the warrs frustrating our hopes in the Redd Sea, and our stock and means soe weake, we are doubtfull as yet of their disposure except

we send them to you, and then with provicions onlie, our ingagements alreadie at interest being so great and beyond our meanes of performance that you may not expect anie farther supply of goods from hence untill we ourselves are better furnished.' Send some ships' stores, biscuit, wheat, butter, meal, and oil. Cannot supply rice, as the old is bad, and 'no new good to be had'. The *Mary* is provisioned for twelve months, except as regards sugar, which must be supplied at Bantam, as there is none to be had here. Approve Mr. Scudamore's stay with them. Jeremy Shuker and Malachi Martin, 'both able and sufficient men,' have been allowed at their own request to embark on this ship in the hope of being employed at Bantam. Have paid 3,000 rials of eight to Mīrzā Mahmūd, &c., in discharge of the bills drawn on Surat by their correspondents. Eustace Man acknowledges a debt of 2,005 mahmūdīs. Rejoice to hear the good news from Macassar. 'Your supplies to Mesula-[patam] wilbe also welcome to our freinds there, who for want of your wonted correspondencies are become almost hartles and out of hopes of recovering their almost lost reputs by the abundant meanes and shipping the Dutch have received this yeare, as well from Holland as from Jaccatra.' Trust the ships will arrive there in safety. Approve the intended dispatch of Mr. Vernworthy to reside in Batavia. 'The Dutch have this yeare five shipps from Jaccatra, with large cavidall for this place and Persia; and surely, if our masters neglect these northern factories but one or two yeare more as they have done these two past, we feare the Dutch will overbeare us and make both th'one and th'other fruitless unto them, by their pollitique proceedings, undervallewing ever their owne comodities and raising those of this parts to excussive rates, with intente onlie to beate us out of trade, so to leave the same wholie unto them; which if not prevented in Europe, we cannot see how our masters can avoyd the desisting altogether for itt. Our charge of shipping, so farre exceeding theres, devoureth and eateth up all the gaines and bennefitt thereby, which had it 200,000*l*. stock to mannage all the correspondencies it might have depending thereon, if follow'd as it ought to be, the expence would be one and the same it now is (a few factors more excepted, to performe their imployments); and maintained with yearelie supplies of 60,000*l*. or thereabouts, assisted by our creditts in this place, which yett is

preserved with much more esteeme then is theirs.' Answer to Mr. Muschamp's complaints of deficiencies in recent consignments, which appear to be due to robberies on the way, or confusion owing to the fire on the *Palsgrave*. 'The 15th Aprill the *William* sett sayle for England. Uppon her went passengers William Martin, John Benthall, and Robert Tottle, under commaund of Mr. Thomas Kerridge, but his commaund dured no longer then we were present, for Captain Browne, denieing to obey our commission, would not submitt nor loose any authority conferred on him by our honourable masters. This caused many disgusts, and how they wilbe taken by our masters we knowe not, yett doe hope they will take into better considerations their too much authority and ample commissions given their sea comaunders heretofore, and betake themselves to a better esteeme of their principall merchants and factors, who are indeed the true labourers of their viniard, and th'other, if rightlie considred, no other then carriers, fitt for no other then to transport their goods from place to place; and that with such unreasonable expence and fruitless charges that by the tyme they returne to their voyage end the disbursements upon the way are manie tymes more then the principall of their cavidall. In this kinde we doubt you wilbe troubled with this commaunder, annimated the more by th' others example, though incertaine how he will come off with this his contempt. But you, knoweing better how to handle these sorte of people then we have donne, will we doubt not learne them to knowe themselves.' 'The *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *Discoverie*, and *William* carried hence cargazons of vallue upward of 160,000*l.* sterling, first pennie [i.e. cost] in these parts; uppon which we remaine ingaged at interest above 40,000*l.*, and whereunto we have since added almost or altogether 50,000*l.* more; soe as, uppon arrivall of our shipps *Jonah* and *Expedicion* from England the 31 [*sic*] September with a cavidall of 61,000*l.*, goods and monies, we are indebted in the countrie upon the point of 90,000*l.*; wherof hetherto we have not beene able to disburden our masters of the least part, their goods lyeing all unsould, and the small supply of rials (being but two chests) are expended, with much more, in the provicions for the shipps, &c. The gold, amounting to 44,000*l.*, is unvendible, and so fallen in itts esteeme and price that, besides the trouble to putt it of, it will bring an unexpected loss uppon our masters; and much more would

it have done had the lading of our shipps been now to provide. Such is the misserie of our trade in these parts, where we lye at the mercy of the xaroffs [shroffs] or exchangers of monie, who at their pleasures raise and fall the price of either specie as themselves please. Hereby you may perceive how farr we are plunged into a laborinth of debts, without meanes of reliefe. Notwithstanding we are willing to cleare so farr as that small stock will extend, no man will eather receive or buy anie gold, that soe we might by degrees ease ourselves of some clamorous and troublesome creditors; unto all which your returns to us are not at all assisting, more then to helpe in the lading home of our shipps by adding somewhat to their adventure; neither hath the *Exchange* from the Red Sea been helpefull in that proporcion we did expect, as we have in a former clause expressed; nor hath Captain Halls designes fallen out soe succesfull as we imagined, having beene twice thus deceived of our hopes of surprizall of outward bound shipps from Portugall, from whence this yeare there is not anie as yett arrived, though an avizo came in June last by a carvell putt into Chaul by foule weather, that did certefie of 5 gallions and 3 carrecks to be preparing, and in them Don Franscisco Mascarenos for Viceroy. Those, report saith, mett at their coming forth uppon the coast of Portingall with 60 saile men of warr, but what became of them not knowne. Their long stay gives more hopes of the truth hereof then otherwise we are assured itt is soe. Howsoever, their force[s] are in these parts verie weake, and their estate much declining at this tyme.' Are sorry that they cannot send them a better stock of goods than the *Mary's* present cargo, 'for besids our want of meanes for investments, the Dutch do lay out soe eagerlie in all parts for southerne goods that they are risen 20 per cent. above the price they were worth before the arrivall of their shipps. This their hast is for the dispeed of one shippe for Jaccatra about the beginning of the next month. Th'other six are bound for Persia about the same tyme, and in company of soe many more of ours, which we send rather to performe with our promisses ingaged to the Moores of this place to transport their goods and persons, and to take awaie the Persians objeccions against our desist from trade in his kingdomes, then for anie great benefitt is made for freight and customes. Our masters have sent by these shipps onelie a letter, fuller of after hopes then

presente supplies, to those factories, and indeed forbidd us the sending anie shipp thither . . . yett, as we said, our words past so farre unto these people, and no other implyoyment then offered, we chose rather to keepe them in accion, by which we might accrew some cash into our and their chests towards the great and excussive charge our shipps lye at, espetially in port, then to reserve them here idly uppon expence onlie.' Account of provisions sent on the *Mary*; more will be supplied on the return of the fleet from Persia. Errors and overcharges in the account for 'Moores goods' in last year's fleet. A bale of brown dutties missing. Would be glad of a supply of pepper, spices, and turtle-shells, for which they will engage to return Indian commodities. Notice should be sent beforehand by way of Masulipatam. Job Harvy[1] desires to know what has become of his coral; if it is at Masulipatam, they suggest that it should be recalled to Bantam, as also a quantity of chinaware which is lying there unvendible. Payment to be made by the Dutch at Batavia for a butt of sack supplied by Captain Hall to 'Commaundour Vanderbroke' at Surat. In future, ships coming hither need only be supplied with sufficient 'rack' [arrack] to last till their arrival, as it can be made here more cheaply 'and in our opinions more holesome'. Have not hitherto adopted this course, but intend next season to order the preparation of a quantity. Some beef and pork forwarded from the ships' stores. As regards private trade, they have no doubt heard by the *Dove* 'how much our masters are insenst against the preposterous proceedings of some particulers [i. e. individuals], to the gennerall scandall of all their servants, as well in these parts as with you, and will doubtlesse lend your assisting hands to itts remedie in some measure, as we here have alreadie begunne, and shall, we hope, rectefie the maine and greatest abuses therein. These taken awaie, th'other of less import wilbe more easilie reduced into a more moderate manner then hetherto; yet to accomplish with our masters order, we send you herewith halfe a dozen of proclamacions,[2] together with a booke intituled

[1] Job Harby, or Harvey, one of the 'Committees' of the Company and a prominent London merchant. He became one of the Farmers of the Customs, and was knighted in December, 1637.

[2] The royal proclamation of February 15, 1628, prohibiting private trade except so far as it may be licensed by the Company (see *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1625–9, p. 466).

Healths Sicknes, that soe you may dispose them unto all your subordinate factories, that the want of notice of our masters minds may not give them cause of pleading ignorrance.' (*Copy.* 16½ *pp.*)

Commission and Instructions from the President and Council of Surat to Captain John Hall for his Voyage to Bantam, November 9, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 129).

He is constituted chief commander of the *Mary* and the *John*. 'As we have beene ascertained that the Portugall, uppon intelligence of your intendment to repaire to Rajapore after returne from Mosambique, prepared and fitted 5 gallions of warre and 25 galliotts and frigatts, and that Battelio, cheife commaunder of those forces, with private commission proceeded thither, rodd there 15 dayes attending your approach and, receiving advice of your arrivall att this port, fell downe againe to Goa, where he now in full strength awaiteth all advantages as may be offered,' Hall is to stand on his guard and to keep well off the coast in his voyage. To lose no time in reaching his port. If any Dutch ships be met with, he is to be prepared to repel an attack, 'we being jealous of the fastnes of their amitie.' He may capture any vessels belonging to the Portuguese, 'Decannee,' or other enemies, care being taken to register and deliver the prize goods at Bantam; he and the sailors will be allowed their sixth part, according to the Company's orders. The estates of deceased men (except apparel &c., which may be sold at the mast as usual) are to be registered by the purser and delivered at Bantam for remittance home. At Bantam he will receive instructions from the President and Council. Peter Elliott (master of the *Mary*), Jeremy Shuker and Malachi Martin (factors), Daniel White (purser), and one of the master's mates, are to form his Council, he himself having a casting vote. The purser is to register the proceedings and deliver a transcript at Bantam. Shuker and Martin commended to his good treatment. In case of Hall's death, Elliott is to take charge of the ship, 'butt to assume no other supremacie or title then to a shippe master belongeth.' (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

Edward Austin's Account of his Voyage to Bantam in the *Mary* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlvii. p. 59).

1628, *November* 11. The *Mary* sailed from Swally, accompanied by the frigate *John*. *December* 6. They were in the latitude of Cape Comorin. *December* 23. Sighted Engano. *December* 25. The *Mary* anchored in Bantam Road. The *John* came in the following day. (5½ *pp. The rest of the journal is occupied by an account of the homeward voyage of the* Mary *from Bantam.*)

President Wylde, John Skibbow, Joseph Hopkinson, George Page, and Richard Boothby at Surat to the President and Council at Bantam, November 17, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 488).[1]

Wrote at large by the *Mary* and the *John*, which sailed on the 11th current. They would have sent transcripts 'by this conveyance of the Dutch', but fear they would be suppressed or at least detained, and so will dispatch them in a day or two by way of Masulipatam instead. Their indebtedness, due to sending home so many ships this year and last, prevented them from making a large consignment to Bantam in the *Mary*. A small sum to be recovered from 'Jeremy Shugar'. Cannot yet decide what to do with the *Jonah*, *Expedition*, *Hopewell*, and *Little James*, but they may come to Bantam to winter. No news yet of the arrival of a ship at Masulipatam. (*Copy*. 2 *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Wylde and Messrs. Skibbow, Hopkinson, Page, and Boothby, December 6, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 131).

Mr. Mountney having advised an offer from several merchants of Ahmadābād to buy the quicksilver at 90 rupees per maund for the whole, or 95 rupees for 300 maunds, it is decided that, as the factors there are much in debt, and have been lately charged from Agra by Mr. Clement and the rest with 21,000 rupees by exchange, 300 maunds of the quicksilver shall be sent thither, together with four baskets of amber beads: and Mr. Willoughby is to convey

[1] A second copy will be found at p. 511 of the same volume, and a third forms *O.C.* 1284.

the same from Broach to Ahmadābād with ten or twelve Englishmen as a guard. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{3}$ *p.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Blessing* by President Wylde and Council and the Commanders and Masters of the Fleet,[1] December 8, 1628 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 132).

Promises having been made to 'Ckiraut Ckan [Khairāt Khān], His Majesties embassadore of Persia', and to sundry principal merchants of Surat, to transport their goods and persons to Gombroon, and they having brought down to the Marine far more goods than can be embarked in the ships, whereupon Hari Vaisya and Vīrjī Vōra, in the name of the rest, have threatened, unless all be taken, to call in their debts (which cannot be paid owing to want of cash), it is decided to defer the dispatch of the *Hart* to England and to send her with the rest to Persia to carry the surplus goods. Peter Vrinson, a Dane captured in the *Cinnamon*, is entertained at 20*s.* per month. Gualther Hammon appointed surgeon on shore, and George Morgan made surgeon of the *Exchange* in his place. The *Hart* is to 'weare the flagge on the foretoppe[2] to the *Jonas*' until her return to Swally. (*Copy.* 1$\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Order to the Fleet at Swally by the President and Council at Surat, December 8, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 133).

All ballast taken out of the ships is to be deposited on the beach above high water mark, both to avoid danger to the ships' boats and to make it available for other vessels needing a supply. Any officer infringing this rule will forfeit 10*l.* for each load, 'towards the maintenance of the Hospitall now in ereccion att Blackwall.' The Clerk of the Stores is to collect the stones lying between high and low water mark, and the company of any ship flinging more stones into the water will be required to defray the cost of collection. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

[1] Swanley, Slade, Evans, Pashley, Watts, and Cowlan.

[2] In other words, to be the vice-admiral of the squadron.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO RICHARD PREDYS FOR HIS VOYAGE TO GOMBROON, DECEMBER 12, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 134).

To take his passage on the *Jonas*, to see to the sale of the Company's goods at Gombroon, 'without having any relacion unto the Agent and factors there resident,' though he may leave certain goods with them if necessary. The pepper, saltpetre, and gumlac should not be sold unless there is a good market for them, but returned upon the ship. The proceeds of his cargo should be brought back in rials or 'abassees' [*see previous volume*, p. 186]; 'but doe you leave noe monies at all, or other goods then are here specified, to the factory, for, our masters forbearing to supply them, wee may not breake their order except upon our owne perills.' He is appointed to be one of the Council during his abode in Persia. Not to part with any money to the Agent, &c., for bills on Surat. Signor Jeronimo is sent to assist him, especially in the event of a Portuguese vessel being captured, in which case great care must be taken to prevent pillage. He may also employ George Williamson (who returns to Persia to fetch his accounts) to help in selling goods and persuading the native merchants to embark on the English rather than on the Dutch ships. There being no room in the fleet, they have embarked 100 bales of tobacco and some cotton wool in a Surat junk named the '*Fettee*' [*Fath*, 'Victory'], which is to sail in their company. Predys is to see to the sale of these goods; if this be not effected before his departure, he may leave them with the Agent. As many good horses as can be got should be brought back; also some rose water, pistachios, walnuts, and 'some achar [Persian *āchār*, pickles or conserves] of severall kinds, but espetially of wild garlicke, if there to bee had.' No time is to be lost in returning to India, as the *Hart* and another ship are to go to England on their return. (*Copy.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF SURAT TO CAPTAIN RICHARD SWANLEY FOR HIS VOYAGE TO PERSIA, DECEMBER 12, 1628 (*O.C.* 1286).[1]

He is appointed chief commander of the fleet, consisting of the *Jonah* (admiral), *Hart* (vice-admiral), *Christopher* (rear-admiral),

[1] There is a second copy in *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 137.

Expedition, *Hopewell*, *Eagle*, and pinnace *James*.[1] To sail in company with the Dutch. To treat the native passengers 'with all courteous respects and affable deport, especiallie Ckirraut Ckan, His Majesties embassador, and familie'. His council is to consist of Predys, Evans, Ball, Watts, Minors, and Cowlan, with William White[2] and Richard Garlick. Thomas Turner, purser, is to 'keepe registrie' and deliver a transcript on his return. Swanley is to have a casting vote, if necessary. 'Our imployers, for reasons best knowne to themselves, discontinuing trade in those parts, and wee anxious of the Persians fidelitie, having bin latelye advertised by letters from the Agent thear resident of his doubted perfideous intendment to dispossesse them of their title to the moitie of the customes at Gombroone for breach of contract in matters of commerce,' Swanley, in order to avoid giving a pretext for such action, is to issue a proclamation aboard the different ships, strictly prohibiting any Englishman from passing passengers' goods through the customs as his own, thereby defrauding 'the Shawabasse' [Shāh Abbās] and the Company of their dues, on pain of forfeiture of goods and wages, and further exemplary punishment. Private trade to be stopped, in accordance with previous orders. Should any vessel be captured, care is to be taken to prevent pillage. Inventories to be drawn up of the estates of deceased men, and their goods made over to the Company. To take all precautions against attacks by the Portuguese, and to call at Jask for news of the enemy's strength and in order to advise the Gombroon factors. He is not to remain longer than ten or fifteen days at Gombroon. If it may be done without danger, the *Eagle* and *James*, or one of them, may be sent to Ormus to lade 'geru, or redd earthe of Ormuz' [*see* p. 188]. On his return voyage, he may wait for the Dutch or not, as seems best. Predys is exempted from Swanley's command, and is to be afforded all assistance necessary for the discharge of his duties. On reaching the Indian coast, the fleet may look into Dābhol or other ports near, in order to capture vessels 'not subjects to this King, or sayling without our passe'; but this is not to be attempted if it would occasion loss of time. In the event of Swanley's death, Evans is to command the fleet. *P.S.*—The

[1] Omitted in the other copy (see postscript).

[2] Omitted in the other copy.

disaster to the *Little James* having deprived him of a ship, he is to make a point of waiting for the Dutch on the return voyage, except in some unforeseen emergency. (*Signed copy.* 5½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *JONAH* [AT SWALLY] BY PRESIDENT WYLDE AND THE COMMANDERS OF THE SHIPS [1], DECEMBER 16, 1628 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 136).

In consequence of 'the late disastour befallen the *Little Jeames* in the river, with the incertainty of the Portugalls strength of shipping and their aboad at present, some reporting 7 galliouns to be arived in Goa from Lisbon, others 2, with sundry flying tales not to bee credited, and the advise lately received from Tho. de Costa conceived to bee only intended to inveagle us by false insinuacions, the Viceroy of Goa having utterly given out to extirpate both the Dutch and us from this northern trade', it is resolved that the Persia fleet shall wait ten days, in order that the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star*, which are bound for England, may start in their company. It is also agreed that the *Christopher* and *Hopewell*, if trimmed at Gombroon, shall make all possible speed therein, in order not to delay unduly the return of the fleet. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT WYLDE AND MESSRS. SKIBBOW, HOPKINSON, PAGE, AND BOOTHBY, DECEMBER 18, 1628 (*Ibid.*, p. 142).[2]

'Through the presente disesteeme of jewells and other rarieties at the court of Shaw Jehaune and their disregard with his nobillity since the decease of the late Jehaungeere,' it is decided to return to England, under the care of Hopkinson, certain goods of that kind which have long lain unvendible at Agra and other places; also some others, which were received by the fleet of the *Jonas* and were taken to Ahmadābād by Willoughby, but brought back again because the best price obtainable was under a fourth part of the cost as invoiced. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

[1] Swanley, Slade, Pashley, Evans, Watts, Ball, Minors, and Cowlan.

[2] This is the last entry in this particular section, which was doubtless sent home in the *Exchange*.

[President Wylde and Council at Surat to the Company, December 21, 1628[1]] (*O.C.* 1286*).

(*First part missing.*) The charge against Eustace Man. Thomas Robinson and Gabriel Kennicot the principal actors herein. The former, for his charges of bribery made against the President and others, was brought before a council and, as he only increased his offence by his 'insolent and unsufferable words of disrespect', was put into irons on board the *Star*. After eight days he submitted and was released, though they had intended that he should be sent home in the same manner. He is one of the most shameless and impudent rascals that live, and a traitor to the Company, although his information regarding some abuses to the southwards may have wrought a favourable opinion. His papers have been seized and are now forwarded. They contain some accusations against Wylde, but the latter is confident that the Company will not condemn him until he appears before them to justify himself, which he entreats may be by the first ships of next season, 'his tyme being expired.' The imminent dispatch of these three ships prevents them from enlarging on the topic. 'The accident befallen the *Little James* and 5 boates of goods belonging to these people, being robd by the Portugall at the same tyme, hath caused them to detaine the Persian fleet, both ours and the Dutch, for the Kings junck eight dayes.' (*Portion missing.*) After the departure of these ships, they will only have the *Jonah* and *Hopewell* or *Expedition* left to lade for England, for the *Christopher* and *Eagle* belong to Bantam and must return thither for repairs. Propose to send the *Jonah* and the pinnace home next season, and in them Wylde will return if the Company license his departure. 'The 4th October your shipp *Exchange* aryved from Mocha, where through occation of warrs betweene the Turks and Arabs little of her cargazone was sold, as Mr. Hopkinson, who was cape marchant upon her, can informe you, unto whome wee pray you be pleased to be referred for what concernes that place, and the hopes it may afford you in after tymes, when there shalbe peace and Your Worships have an overplus of stock to follow that trade. William Fall and William Knightley retorned thence with him, James Ollyver deseasing before theire

[1] The date is deduced from a subsequent letter (*O.C.* 1292).

departure; and Thomas Beale came thence the last yere on Court Mahmuds junck, who, chased on shore nere Dabull, was theire slaine by the Moores at his landing, as wee have bin informed by one of Court Mahmuds servants then in the junk. Your pinnace *Scout* was put ashore to the eastward of Aden the last yere with nyne men in her, who with helpe of the country people gott her of and went for Aden, where 2 of the said 9 dyed presently, and since all the rest except 2, the master, Nathaniell Best, and another. For these Mr. Hopkinson, etc., at theire being in Mocho made meanes for theire release and surrender of the pinnace. Both weare fairely promised by the Arabs to them by letters; but when the *Exchange* in her coming thence put into the road to bring them and vessell away, the castle shott diverse shot at them; whereby they perceaved they had noe intent to make restitution of the shipp nor deliver up theire men, and the season requiring his repaire thence they retorned without them. But wee doe hope through the mediacion of the marchants of this citty wee shall obtaine both men and vessell; elce shall wee not faile to prevent the traders to that port and force them to satisfaction. In the meane tyme let not to be sensible of the losse you sustaine hereby. Of your other pinnace *Spy* we cannot yet heare the least newes; doe therefore doubt she is sunck in the sea. Both have byn as unfortunate as unusefull in theise parts, howsoever you have byn perswaded by your seamen to theire buildinge, as also of other friggotts.' On October 4 arrived from Bantam the *Blessing*, *Christopher*, and pinnace *Coco-nut* (since re-named the *Little James*), bringing a quantity of pepper, cinnamon, 'areck or beetle nuts,' and red-wood. The coco-nuts 'and cophra [copra], which is the meat within the cokernutts', formerly on board the pinnace had been sold at Bantam. With the exception of the pepper, all these goods had been taken from two Portuguese vessels captured by the *Blessing* on her way to Bantam. One of these [the *Coco-nut*] was brought hither and, being found to be 'a pretty vessell and verry good sailour', was taken up to Surat for repairs. Having been thoroughly refitted, she 'on the 6 currentt set sayle from hence, wee having laden on her 500 baggs [of] rice for sale in Persia; but, it being calme and little wind, could not gett out untill the 11th dicto; when being under sayle and almost at the barr foote, she with the

Hart and *Stars* barges weare assaulted by 17 sayle of Portugall friggotts, and after a long defence made, and the master slaine, she was blowen up by her owne people, of whome weare lost and taken about 30 persons, and so many more escaped, some in the barges, others swyming on shore. One Scotchman, by name John Dury, belonging to the *Jonah*, being pittifully burnt and (as they conceived) blind, was, by intercesion of an English gunner they had aboard before, sent up unto us by a country boate. This man after 5 dayes dyed suddenly and without any outward signe of death. He reported that there are 14 or 15 more taken prisoners in the water swyming in the river, whome wee sent to release for other Portugalls aboard your shipps, but would not be graunted, the captain saying he would first present them to the Vice Kinge in Goa, who might afterwards dispose of them as hee should see cause. Wee much doubt theire releasement; yet shall wee not faile in our indeavours therein'. Details of the pepper, &c., laden. Some cinnamon belonging to the crew of the prize was claimed by the captors. (*Portion damaged.*) Papers sent home. The accounts for this year are not yet ready, but will be forwarded by the next conveyance, together with those from Agra, Ahmadābād, Baroda, and Broach. These ships are being dispatched in some haste, for fear lest they should be waylaid by the Portuguese if they remain behind the fleet for Persia. On October 24, finding that they had enough goods to fill the *Hart* also, it was decided to send her home; and accordingly they began to lade her. On the 7th instant, however, the Mōors, having many goods left over after filling the ships intended for Persia, demanded that the promise of sending seven vessels thither should be fulfilled. Having forced the Dutch to land much rice, tobacco, and cotton wool to take in native goods instead[1], they on the 8th sent two of their principal merchants, Hari Vaisya and Vīrjī Vōra, to whom the English were indebted over 30,000*l.*, with a message that while they would not (as they might) forcibly prevent the lading of the ships, yet unless their request was granted they would insist on their debts being paid before the goods were put on board for England. As there was no money available for this purpose, no course remained but to unload the *Hart* again and appoint her for Persia. After all this

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 298.

is as well, for they have since heard that one caravan of 195 camels expected from Agra is detained on the way, owing to want of money to pay tolls; while of the second from the same place, which cannot be less than 700 camels, no news has come to hand. Probably they will not be here before the middle or end of February, and it would have been a pity to detain the ships till then. They will inquire into the cause of the delay, which is in contravention to their orders, and will recur to the subject in a later clause, 'where wee shall diswade you from the continewance of that factory any longer.' In response to a demand from Bantam, they dispeeded thither on November 12 the *Mary* and the *John*. Account of their lading. Should the Company determine to revive that trade, it would be advisable, instead of sending rials thither direct, to forward them, in the first instance, to Surat, where they might be invested in goods that would produce 100 per cent. profit or more at Bantam. A ship should also be dispeeded direct to Masulipatam (as is done by the Dutch) to purchase goods and then go on to Bantam; 'for uppon theise two factories will and must your sotherne trade be grounded, if ever you meane to reape proffitt thereby.' Another convenience would be that letters could be sent overland from Masulipatam to Surat, giving early intelligence of the Company's plans. 'This the Dutch had this yere, and had prevented us of the Amadavad indico, had wee not gathered by circomstances from theire owne discourse of their intents . . . Wee gave presente order to your servants in Amadavad to goe throughe for the whole parcell of old indico of the last yeres groweth, which wee weare ascertained to be extraordinary good and in opinnion of some of our people and brokers is little inferiour to that made in Agra.' There is small likelihood of a fall in price, unless the Armenian and Moor merchants forbear their buying for Persia, &c., where it is in much request, not less than 1,500 bales having been laden on the Dutch and English ships this year. The Governor will not allow them to sell lead to any one but himself; but this is avoided by sending it to Ahmadābād and trucking it for indigo. Proceed to answer the Company's letter received by the *Jonah* and *Expedition*; but first intimate the loan to the Dutch of twenty-five barrels of gunpowder, and enclose Van den Broeck's letter to his masters for payment of the amount in England. Note the receipt of the Surat letter of

November 29, 1626, per Vincent Harris; also that the *London* and *Reformation* had arrived in safety. Perceive that the original of that letter was not delivered to the Company until January 14, 1628, wherein as in all things the Dutch have abused them. Did not send a letter by the *Palsgrave* and *William* to Bantam, as they did not think there was a chance of its being forwarded. Regret that the late President at Bantam has incurred the Company's displeasure by sending the *Abigail* to the Coast and in her Mr. Man, 'as you conceive to invest his great estate in diamonds.' Are persuaded that this information is wrong, for Mr. Man, who now goes passenger in the *Star*, protests that he did not buy a single diamond. Mr. Kerridge has no doubt explained the detention of the *Dolphin*. They very well apprehend that the life of trade consists in quick and speedy returns, and they wish the Company were as ready to find the means as they are to procure the goods. Had the commodities purchased in Agra and Ajmer come down in time for these ships, the value sent home this season would have exceeded that of the supply received by the *Jonah*, &c. Trust that the dispatch of the *Mary* to Bantam will be approved. By her was forwarded the Company's letter addressed to that presidency. Regret that the excess of private trade to the southwards has led the Company to suspect them as well; protest that there is only a little here and there, and that it is of no great prejudice to the general trade, as without it some of the ships would have gone empty. They are doing their best to suppress private trade, as will be seen from the consultations; but it is a disease that must not be purged by violent and strong medicines, lest the whole body be endangered. The main hindrance thereunto must come from the Company at home by restraining their seamen, without whom the factors can do nothing. The latter think themselves as much entitled as the former to make use of their opportunities, especially as most of them are obliged, for the credit of their nation, to spend in apparel, &c., more than their pay, and if they cannot make it up in some honest manner they must either go home poorer than they came or else wrong the Company by some indirect and dishonest courses. No doubt the Company has heard of the removal of their factors from Batavia to Bantam, owing to the 'insolency' of the Dutch. They trust that His Majesty will now at

last provide both for the satisfaction of past wrongs and the establishment of a firm and peaceable trade, which here will never be performed by the Dutch unless the King takes the Company under his protection. 'Wee in theise parts live uppon faire and freindly termes with them; yet doe wee not lett to thinke it is more for want of power to doe us wronge then will to effect itt; nor (to say the truth) hath there beene want of will or power in us, had wee warrant for our accion.' Acknowledge that the powder bought in Ahmadābād was poor, but the want thereof for the ships could not be neglected. It was bought by Hopkinson, who will doubtless satisfy the Company that he did his best. The information given by William Langford 'is only a seamans advice, who will persuade you (as wee said before) to beleive anythinge, though never so falce; for wee are assured that in noe part of India is made so good powder as is made in England, neither by the Portugalls themselves, much lesse by the heathens and Indians in theise parts'.[1] Their wants can be more quickly supplied from home than from the Coromandel Coast, for, first, it is uncertain whether the authorities there will permit the export of any quantity, and, secondly, the Masulipatam factors will not comply with requisitions from Surat without instructions from Bantam, whither also the powder must be sent, when ready, for transport to this place. As regards 'the private trade of strangers and their passage uppon our shipps', they have forbidden it except in the case of Persia. [*Four pages missing.*] A large quantity of gum-lac sent home; will endeavour to procure some of 'that sort in shells' taken to England by Robert Young, which is only to be had in Lahore and thereabouts. No more aloes Socotrina will be supplied until further orders. Send twenty quilts, which had been put in hand before the Company's letter arrived, but will abstain from further purchases. Note the orders for 'the discontinewance of your Persian trade'; yet, as already explained, they have thought it well to send the ships thither with freight goods, which ought to yield the Company at least 10,000*l.* in customs. Have also laden some tobacco and cotton wool on a junk of the King's, besides some rice, &c., in the English ships. These goods

[1] Langford had told the Company that gunpowder might be readily procured at Masulipatam for 3½*d.* per lb. and that it was unnecessary therefore to send out such large supplies (*Minutes*, Feb. 15, 1628).

are under the charge of Richard Predys, and are not intended as a supply to the factors in Persia. If the jewels belonging to Mr. Bateman and Capt. Styles do not sell in Ahmadābād (where they now are), they shall be returned to England. Would have forwarded 'Mr. John Milhoards salt'[1] to the same city, 'but that place being empty of the nobillity that usually lay there and are now with the new Kinge,' they thought it useless to do so, especially as they have no hope of selling it at anything like its invoice price. The Governor of Surat did not value it at above 500 rupees, 'not esteeming at all the curiosities therein, which as they doe not understand the course of the plannetts and use of the dyall etc. so is the salt itselfe altogether unusefull with theise people.' They will probably be obliged to return it on the *Hart*. The coral received is still in the customhouse, and they have been too busy to examine it. From the invoice they fear that it is of the same sort as that brought last year by Captain Hall, which lay unsold until this month, when Vīrjī Vōra bought the lot at 36 per cent. under the customs valuation (100 per cent. above cost). It was of poor quality compared with that brought by the *Palsgrave* and *William*. They hope to get rid of the present consignment in barter for pepper or indigo. The quicksilver arrived in good condition. Half has been sent to Ahmadābād in response to an offer of Rs. 95 per maund, though when it got thither the offer was reduced to Rs. 90; the rest has been sold here at Rs. 95 per maund, with four months' credit. The goods now provided were purchased in Agra by Gregory Clement, etc.; in Ahmadābād by Nathaniel Mountney; in Broach by Richard Barber; in Baroda by Nathaniel West; and in Surat by Henry Glascock. A Clerk of the Stores having been thought necessary, Thomas Wilbraham has been appointed to that post. As regards the factors sent out in the last fleet, Richard Boothby has been taken into Council, and now follows the customhouse pending a better employment; John Willoughby has made two journeys to Ahmadābād to convoy gold and silver, an employment fittest for his humour; and Peter Mundy, for want of other work, has been employed in the office. Many time-expired servants

[1] An elaborately ornamented salt-cellar which Capt. John Milward (one of the Committees) had been permitted in the preceding March to send to India for sale on his own account.

are returning, 'here being small or noe imployment for them—those your new and yet in breath sitting still or doeing little.' Joseph Hopkinson goes home after ten years' service and will, they hope, be graciously welcome. They have paid him his third of this year's wages. John Bangham is sent home for the better satisfaction of Sir Francis Crane ; his accounts are not yet cleared. Robert Clitherow returns, being desirous to see his country and friends and there being little or nothing for him to do ; he has been allowed 700 mahmūdīs 'to cleare the country'. William Fall has, since his return from Mokha, been helping Thomas Joyce at the Marine ; his abilities deserve better entertainment, and they have given him 100 mahmūdīs 'towards sea provisions'. William Knightley has been employed in copying letters. His sufferings at Mokha deserve favour ; they have given him 100 mahmūdīs to prepare for the voyage and have lent him a similar sum on account of wages. Jeremy Shuker and Malachi Martin have gone to Bantam on the *Mary*. The paper and quills sent this year are exceedingly bad. Request paper for their account books and 'your accustomary favour in the provition of sack for the factoryes', as the ships will not spare them any except with 'grumbling and mutteringe'. Accounts of Eustace Man. The tapestry last sent lies unsold at Lahore. 'There is of late quantety made and more comodious for tents then is that you send'; so no more should be furnished. The Governor of Surat sends patterns for sword blades 'to be made in Germany'; if these can be supplied by the next ships they may excuse a greater present to him. Weight of pepper on the *Star* and *Exchange*; any loss must be due to theft or to its drying on the way. 'The Portugall forces, as wee said before, are incerten, neither doe wee knowe where they lye; only wee are advertized that the Viceroy is aryved at Goa with two galloones,[1] and other three are wantinge and not any newes of them. Other five galloones weare preparing in Goa, but for want of men put not to sea untill the now supply came; and all now are fittinge for Muscatt with provisions of victualls and powder and shott, doubting the Persian intends to

[1] This was wrong. No Viceroy arrived during 1628. The Viceroy Francisco da Gama returned to Lisbon this year by order from the King, leaving the government in the hands of the Bishop of Cochin, as Francisco Mascarenhas, who had been nominated to succeed to the post, had already left for Europe.

assault itt this yere; but wee beleeve they have other ends, well knowing the Shawe Abausse to be busied in his owne defence against the Turke. If therefore your forces be not stronge the next yere, your fleet will run great hazard uppon theire aryvall on this coast, where if they come seperated (as often they doe) the danger wilbe soe much the more; for wee heare of great boasts this Vice Kinge giveth of our and the Dutches utter ruine in theise parts. But wee hope it wilbe his tourne first; at least wee will indeavour it, if able and not prevented by your contradiction.' Forward a packet from the factors at Armagon, giving intelligence of their removal from Masulipatam, for want of supply for its continuance. Fear they will not find it easy to gain re-admittance, as the Dutch will work their hindrance either by force or bribes. Think they would have done well to have complained to the King before departing and to have asked his permission to quit the country; he could not well have refused to right their wrongs, but if he did they would have had a better excuse for withdrawing. Their project of stopping the junks would then have been more defensible; in any case it should not be put in execution unless it is decided to abandon all intention of resettling. (*The rest is wanting.* 12 *pp.* *Mutilated.*)

David Davis's Account of the Voyage of the *Hart* to Gombroon and back (*Marine Records*, vol. xliv. p. 87).

1628, *December* 8. The *Hart* was appointed to go to Persia. *December* 9. Put ashore some of the lading she had taken in for England. *December* 11. 'The *Litle James* was burnt by 17 Portugall frigotts, with the losse of 25 men and two barges, viz. the *Harts* barge with 5 men and the *Stars* barge with 5 men.' *December* 27. The fleet, consisting of nine English ships, six Dutch, eleven Gujarātī junks and frigates, sailed from Swally. *December* 30. The *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star* departed for England. 1629, *January* 23. Anchored off Jask, and sent ashore for news. *January* 27. Reached Gombroon, and the agent, Mr. Burt, came aboard. *February* 15. 'The newes came that the King of Persia was dead.'[1] *February* 21. The English fleet sailed. *February* 23. They were joined by the Dutch and four Surat junks. *March* 8.

[1] According to Beale, Shāh Abbās died on January 8, 1629.

Saw the coast near Diu. *March* 12. Went into Swally Hole, and the President came on board the *Jonas*. (5 *pp.*)

Another Account, by Peter Andrews (*Ibid.*, vol. xlix. p. 45).

1628, *December* 27. The fleet sailed. *December* 30. The homeward-bound ships parted company. 1629, *January* 15. Saw the Persian coast. *January* 23. The *Hopewell's* boat brought news from Jask that fourteen Portuguese galleons were looking for them. *January* 27. Reached Gombroon. *February* 21. Sailed again, but decided to wait for the Dutch, who came out the following day. *March* 8. Saw land near Diu. *March* 12. Anchored in Swally Hole. (6½ *pp.*)

Another Account, by Daniel Hall in the *Expedition* (*Ibid.*, vol. l. p. 15).

1628, *December* 25. The *Expedition* went out of Swally Hole. *December* 26. The *Jonas* and the rest of the ships followed. *December* 27. Sailed. *December* 30. The *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star* left for England. 1629, *January* 15. Land seen. *January* 23. Anchored off Jask, sailing again next morning. *January* 27. Anchored in Gombroon road. *February* 9. Went over to Ormus for ballast. *February* 14. Returned. *February* 21. Sailed. *March* 8. Land seen. *March* 12. Anchored in Swally Road. (5 *pp.*)

Abraham Sayers's Account of his Voyage to England in the *Star* (*Marine Records*, vol. xlvi. p. 56).

1628, *December* 26. Came out of Swally Hole. *December* 27. The fleet sailed. *December* 30. The *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star* left the Persia fleet about 20 leagues off Diu Head. 1629, *March* 6. Saw the Coast near Cape Agulhas. [*Sketch.*] *March* 12. Anchored in Table Bay. *March* 20. Departed. *April* 5. Reached St. Helena. *April* 13. Sailed again. *July* 3. Off the Isle of Wight they saw eight sail coming out of Portsmouth. *July* 4. These ships proved to be Dunkirkers. Two of them came up, pretending to be from Leith, but they made no attempt

to attack. *July* 5. Anchored in the Downs. *July* 9. Sailed again. *July* 12. Anchored at Erith. (29½ *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT BY JOHN PASHLEY (*Marine Records*, vol. xlviii. p. 84).

1628, *December* 27. Sailed from Swally. The fleet consisted of six English ships (*Jonas*, *Hart*, *Christopher*, *Eagle*, *Hopewell*, and *Expedition*) bound for Persia, and three (*Star*, *Exchange*, and *Blessing*) for England: six Dutch ships for Persia: and some Surat junks. *December* 30. Parted with the Persian fleet. 1629, *February* 1. It was decided not to call at the Comoro Islands, for fear of losing the monsoon. *March* 6. Saw the African Coast. *March* 12. Anchored in 'the bay of Salldayny'. *March* 20. Sailed again. *April* 5. Anchored at St. Helena. *April* 13. Departed. *June* 8. Mounted their guns again. *July* 1. Saw Scilly. *July* 5. Anchored in the Downs. (18 *pp.*)

THE NAMES AND SALARIES OF THE FACTORS IN THE INDIES (*Public Record Office*: *East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 67).[1]

Surat: 'Richard Wilde, President, 100*l.*; John Skibbowe, 200*l.*; Richard Boothbye, 100*l.*; George Page, 100*l.*; Arthur Suffild, pursser, 50*l.*; John Willoughbie, 50*l.*; Nicholas Woolley, pursers mate, 30*l.*; Henrie Glascocke, 50*l.*; Raph Rande, a writer, 35*l.*; John Webb, a writer, 20*l.*; Peeter Mondaie, a writer, 30*l.*; Cutbert Charles, a writer [ ]; Crispen Blagden, a writer, 40*l.*; Thomas Smith, a writer, 25*l.*; Clement Dunscombe, a writer, 20*l.*; Thomas Joice, 33⅓*l.*; Robert Davison, steward, 20*l.*; John Calfe, a writer, 20*l.*; Thomas Wilborne,[2] Mr. Wilds man, 20*l.*; George Turner, an unprofitable chirurgion, 40*l.*; John Blewe, cooke, 18*l.*; William Wade, a boye [ ]; two bakers, 36*l.*'

Agra: 'Gregory Clement, 100*l.*; Raph Cartwrite, 40*l.*; William Fremling, 30*l.*; Thomas Aldworth, 30*l.*'

Ahmadābād: 'Nathaniel Mounteny, 40*l.*; Nathaniel Weych, 66⅔*l.*; Henrie Graves, 15*l.*'

[1] This appears to be the list presented at a Court meeting held on February 13, 1629. The factors outside India are here omitted, but will be found in Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar (1625–9, p. 625).

[2] Elsewhere he is called Wilbraham.

Broach: 'Henrie Barbor, 100*l.*; John Norris, 80*l.*'

Baroda: 'Nathaniel West, 80*l.*; William Price, 30*l.*' . . .

Armagon: 'George Brewin, 150*l.*; Thomas Johnson, 100*l.*; Larance Henly, 40*l.*; Nicholas Bixe, 80*l.*; Edward Chapman, 60*l.*; Arthur Fowkes, 40*l.*; Leonard Couch, 12*l.*; Egglesfild [ ].' (1 *p.*)

George Brewen, Thomas Johnson, and Lawrence Henley at Armagon to [the President and Council at Bantam], January 22, 1629 (*O.C.* 1280).

Received theirs of October 14 on the 1st current, and according to order will do their best to secure the speedy return of the ship. A few days ago they sent her to Pulicat to fetch the goods formerly taken there in a Dutch ship [*see* p. 280], and she has returned to-day. It is now their intention to sail to Masulipatam, for the purpose of recovering the debts there owing; then they will return to this place and start as speedily as possible for Bantam. The poor cargo brought by the ship has been landed here in part; but none of the turtle shells, which are quite unsaleable at Armagon. Part of the sandal-wood will be taken to Masulipatam for sale. Beg for a supply of gold thread, 'for here is none to bee procured.' The great chain of gold is much overrated. No more sandal-wood should be sent for the present. After paying what they owe, they will hardly have enough 'for bare victuals'; so they beg an early supply of money, as otherwise they will not be able to furnish any goods this year. Repeat their desire for a small vessel, to fetch provisions from 'Arracan and Gingelee [*see* p. 316], and those partes ajoyning, and in convenient tyme to looke oute for purchase [prizes] uppon the cost of Sellonna [Ceylon] and other places where the Portugalls doe trade; by these courses the Dutch doe daylie finde greate benifitt; wherefore they keepe allways some 5 or 6 sloopes and junks trading continewally from porte to porte'. Fear they will find difficulty in recovering their debts at Masulipatam, 'by reason of there yll dealing with Richard Hudson since our departure thence,' and a resort to force will probably be necessary. Have therefore made a Masulipatam boat into 'a kinde of a slope', to send with the ship 'for reprising any juncks or boates as occasions maye present'. *P.S.*—They suppose they will be constrained at

Masulipatam to pay for the goods of certain Moors which were sent by Mills to Batavia for sale on behalf of the owners. (*Copy. 1½ pp.*)

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ARMAGON FACTORS AND THE GOVERNOR OF MASULIPATAM (*O.C.* 1280).

1629, *January* 29. Messrs. Brewen, Johnson, and Henley left Armagon in the ship *Swallow* and pinnace *Fortune* for Masulipatam 'to demand our debts'. *February* 1. They arrived in the road and sent a man ashore with a letter to the Governor [*quoted*], stating that they had left on account of the many foul wrongs daily offered by him and that they had now come to demand payment of debts due to them and delivery of all their goods ashore; 'otherwise wee shall be forced to take such course as will not bee to your content, nyther is itt our desire except by you forced.' *February* 2. The Governor sent a letter on board [*quoted*], inviting them to come ashore, when their debts should be paid and they permitted to sell and buy freely. To this they made reply [*quoted*] that they would not go ashore, though they would be glad if Richard Hudson were allowed to come on board for orders. If the Governor would give his 'coule' [*see* p. 8] for the concessions demanded in their letter to him at their departure, they would acquaint their President, who would no doubt agree to the re-establishment of the factory. *February* 3–5. 'Arryved seven smale juncks from Gingilie, laden with rice, paddie, gingelie seedes [1] and som butter; which wee stayed.' *February* 5. A letter [*quoted*] was received from the Governor, expressing regret that the debts had not been paid; if they would come ashore, they should receive the money and have an opportunity of selling the goods they had brought; 'I will bee your freind.' To this they sent an answer [*quoted*], declining to trust his promises or allow any one to land without a hostage; and saying that they could not wait fifteen days as suggested, and that they intended to keep the junks until he gave full satisfaction. Hitherto Hudson had not been allowed to come or send anything or board, 'onlie refreshing not deneyed.' *February* 10. A letter was sent to the Governor

[1] Sesamum seeds, whence the oil was expressed. The Gingeli coast extended from the Godāvarī Delta to Jagannāth. Note also the distinction between rice and paddy, the former being husked and the latter not.

[*quoted*], reminding him that they came not thither for pleasure but to recover what was due to them; and 'seeing you perseveare in your unjust actions, knowe this: ass sone as wee have meanes to right ourselves, wee shall shewe you an accompt of upwards of 40,000 pag[odas]; although nowe wee rest in silence with a fewe rotten rice juncks, yett, when tyme serveth, be assured the loss . . . will lye heavie uppon you, by your unjust neclect occasioned'. *February* 19. 'In the dead of the night, yet armed, the Dutch (being som 30 parsons of marchants, soulders, and seamen) made there escape abord, leaving there howse destitute of any man.' *February* 21. A consultation was held, at which it was decided that, as they had to take cloth in satisfaction of their debts, Arthur Fowkes should be sent ashore to see to this. In his instructions [*quoted*] he was ordered to take care that the cloth was not overrated: to see to the packing up of the porcelain and other goods; and to consult Hudson on all these points. *February* 24. A further letter was dispatched to the Governor [*quoted*], stating that having lain there twenty-four days and finding no sign of his fulfilling his promises, they were constrained to empty the cargoes of the small junks into one large junk, and to carry the latter to Armagon as soon as the wind served. *March* 20. Fowkes delivered to the Governor the factors' demands 'for there future commerce in the kingdom of Golconda', viz.: 1. Freedom of trade at Masulipatam without molestation 'or abridgment'. 2. Liberty to carry their goods into other parts of the kingdom, 'paying the ancient custome and noe more.' 3. The duties on imports and exports are not to exceed the four per cent. formerly agreed upon; and no goods are to be delayed in the custom-house for more than 24 hours. 4. No official is to stop or hinder the supply of provisions for the ships or wearing apparel for the merchants. 5. No fresh duty is to be levied on goods re-exported. 6. No tolls are to be levied on the English or their servants, with their personal luggage, for passing over rivers or through towns. 7. They are to be allowed to imprison a recalcitrant debtor, and in case of necessity 'to seaze uppon his goods and freinds according to the custom of the cuntry wheresoever we can finde them'. 8. In case of quarrel or difference between an Englishman and a native, the former is to be punished only by the chief of the factory. 9. The servants of the English are not to be interfered with, and are to be

allowed to 'speake what wee command them to the Governour or any other person'. 10. The merchants are to be allowed to ship their goods in their own boats without molestation. 11. The Governor is not to detain any of their goods; 'but if hee will have any, to bargaine in our howse according to reason and custom of marchants.' 12. No money or goods shall be secretly forced from any merchant 'that doth buy or sell with us'. 13. None of the servants of the English dispatched on an errand 'att any tyme, eyther night or daye', shall be stopped or molested. 14. His Majesty shall permit the English to write to him on any occasion, and any servant carrying such messages shall not be punished or troubled. The 'antient junckans' [*see* p. 131] were as follows: 'For all goods by waight is to bee paid for each candie [*see* p. 245] owte of the gates, with all charges, one pagoda; for all white cloth, one cash per patch[1]; for red bittiles, two cash per peece; for ditto percallas, two cash per patch.' *May* 2. Protest of the English against the Governor of Masulipatam [*quoted*], for damages caused by him and his predecessor by unjust exactions and refusal to aid in procuring the recovery of debts due to the Company.[2] 'This foresaid instrument, being translated into the Persian toung, was by Arthur Fowkes the 2th of Maye, 1629, delivered to the Governour of Mesulapatam then being, and in punctuall manner read uppon the bancksale[3] and in presents of the cheefe of the Moores of Mesulapatam.' (*Copies.* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

[1] This seems to be equivalent to 'piece', applied to certain goods. Wilson, in his *Glossary*, gives it as a vulgar abbreviation of the Telugu *pach'chadamu*, a particular kind of cotton cloth. A letter of 1680, quoted in the Madras *Notes and Extracts from Government Records*, says 'dungarees and market clouts, every 16 patch pay 1 fanam'.

[2] The damages are reckoned at 53,618 [pagodas], made up as follows: 30,000 for losses caused by the farming of the trade to three 'Gentewe comittees'; 10,000 'for your imposing of newe junckans'; 618 for bribes given to 'Mamatucke'; 3,000 for loss of time caused by a prohibition to ship goods in the *Morris*; 4,000 for interest on goods and money lately received 'and loss of marketts therein'; 1,000 for being forced to keep 52 chests of saltpetre over a year because they would not give a bribe; and 5,000 for the cost of the present expedition.

[3] For the etymology and meaning of this interesting word see the article in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'bankshall'. Here it is apparently meant for the covered platform at the customhouse on which the Governor transacted business. A letter of 1614 speaks of the 'customhouse or banksall at Musulpatam' (*Letters Received*, vol. ii. p. 62); and Fryer, in his glossary explains, 'banksol' by 'Custom-house key'.

William Burt, Robert Wodder, William Gibson, Robert Loftus, and John Berriman at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 20, 1629 (*O.C.* 1288).

Now reply to their letter of December 26, 1628 [*not extant*]. Send last year's account, prepared by Mr. Wodder, whose sufficiency they extol. Conceive that Mr. Martin was sent to Bantam, not on account of his inability of body but because he was of too prying a nature to suit their proceedings at Surat. Again commend Mr. Williamson's deserts, as they have done to the Company; they have licensed his repair to Surat, but would be glad of his return next year, if the trade be continued. 'Mr. Wylds proceed since hee hath been chosen President hath much increased our marvaile by the little care that hath been taken for the preservacion [of] our masters honours.' Protest that the bill of exchange on Surat was justly charged, and now send a certificate to that effect. 'Concerning private ends, what factor in India hath the Company imployed soe simple that from Mr. Wilds practises might have not only learned but been imboldened in mannaging affaires in that kind, seing both mariners and pursers are by his imployment of them dayly incouraged to such proceedes, unto our masters extreame dammage?' Request that their letters may be reperused, when it will appear whether they asked that the proceeds of the bill might be sent in their names. Since Burt's arrival they have advanced the Company's customs, though they have not been able to effect all they wished. Mr. Wylde's 'further taxe' therein they 'returne unto the wombe that produceth such abortive birthes'. Have credited Surat with 446 rupees paid to 'Domingo Caradoe' [*see* p. 236]. Concerning the supply of their necessities by exchange upon Surat they appeal to the Company for a decision. Their masters' orders regarding Ormus shall be observed. Approve the re-imbaling of the silk at Surat, though it would be better to supply them with gunny in order that the bales may be properly packed at Ispahān. Will await the Company's decision as to their future proceedings. Mr. Predys will no doubt provide the rose-water and pistachio nuts required. The reason why only one horse was sent on the Company's account was that 'the most part of the

license was imployed for you, Mr. Wyld, and your frinds'. The horses shipped by the pursers went by permission of the commanders and bribes given to the Sultan, in spite of Burt's protests. This year they send three horses and four dogs. They offered to transport two horses for Hari Vaisya's agent, but he found none to his mind. Red earth has been shipped in the *Expedition*. Their limit of fifteen days for the stay of the fleet is too short, for often the weather prevents them from landing or lading goods for five or six days together; have persuaded the commanders that what was meant was fifteen days after the landing of the first goods. The postscript ordering the commanders to keep company with the Dutch has been a further trouble; Burt has advised that the ships should start as soon as they are ready, without waiting for the Hollanders. The 'nockoda' [*nākhudā*, master] of the junk complains of the non-fulfilment of the promise made to the Governor of Surat that the fleet should keep company with his vessel. The Dutch declare that they are not bound by the arrangement; while for the English to have kept it would have meant a loss of at least twenty days out and back. He is also much offended because the factors have failed to procure him freight. 'The author of your Portugal newes, De Costo [*see* p. 254], is now presente with us, and hath brought his 8 gallions and carrecks to 3 shipps that are expected with the Viceking; the latter, that they have shipps lying in Goa and want men, is questionles certaine.' Trust that the *William* will reach England safely with 'that most worthy gentleman', Mr. Kerridge. Captain Brown and his abettor will in due time be called to account [*see* p. 295]. Kerridge had already advised them of the dispatch of the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Discovery*. Hope that the goods in the *Blessing*, &c., were better provided than those sent to Mokha in the *Exchange*. 'Unto the prizes taken God add more, till the account of those insolent debtors bee ballanced.' Decided by consultation [*see O.C.* 1287] to take charge themselves of the goods sent to be sold by Mr. Predys, as they are 'better experienced in theis parts' than he; but they have provided the ships with everything needful. Will, as desired, advise the Company of the cargoes provided for the *Exchange* and *Blessing*; the *Star* seems to have been laden with the goods brought by the *Eagle*. Of course the large sums available at Surat enable the President and Council to do

more than the factors in Persia can perform with their limited capital. Perceive that the Treasurer's complaints and their own discontents find small relief from Surat; wish it were otherwise, but the matter has been left by the Company to the discretion of the President and Council. Assure them, however, that 'when annuall supply of shipping shall not repaire unto this port wee shall not only bee totally defeated of our masters due of customes (which now lies gasping for breath) but alsoe shalbee restreyned from the benefitt of other immunities which at presente wee injoy'. Note 'the favoures donne by you the Prince Charoome', and would have been glad to hear of some effectual immunity obtained from him for the Company's benefit. Any project for assisting the natives against the Portuguese should be viewed with circumspection, 'their ends totally tending to the subjeccion of us both.' Hope that 'the particuler favour Mr. Wyld hath in this monarch' will enable him to achieve some great matter before his departure. The charges made against Burt by Martin are 'fruites of envy', and the former's answer has 'dispeld those misty vapours'. Doubt not they have given their masters satisfaction herein. The proclamation and the Company's orders concerning private trade have induced many to desist, but care must still be taken to prevent it at Surat. On their own part no effort shall be lacking. The Dutch have been frequently warned to desist from 'colouring' the goods of Moors and Armenians, but small effects ensue. This year, however, they caught them passing Frenchmen's goods and insisted on satisfaction. Whether the factors should hold friendship with the Armenians is a matter for their own discretion; will 'hold noe more correspondency then needs must'. Khairāt Khān and the rest of the King's and ambassador's merchants have by virtue of the King's farmāns carried away customs-free two-thirds of the goods that came on the English and Dutch fleets, thereby depriving the Khān and the Company of their dues; will complain of this to the new monarch. While here Khairāt Khān was on excellent terms with them. Mr. Wodder has rectified the abstract sent of last year's account. Have already ended all business regarding Naqd Alī Beg. No attention should be paid to the Moors' accounts of the factors' proceedings in the customhouses; they hear similar tales about the methods of the Surat factors—for instance,

that they could with discretion buy their goods 30 per cent. cheaper than they do—but they take no notice of such reports. Galls come originally from a place beyond Bagdad, in Turkish territory[1], and may be procured at Aleppo nearly cent. per cent. cheaper than they can be brought to Gombroon. At Ispahān the lowest price is nine or ten lārīs per maund, and what with loss of weight and transport charges they will turn to small account if laden from this port. With regard to the forced employment of the *Hart*, the President and Council should obtain the King's farmān prohibiting 'such compulsive courses'. Will endeavour to send next year the four horses wanted for 'your Indian Emperour'; at present they cannot procure any suitable ones. Have licensed the transport of a horse for Mīrzā Mahmūd's use. As before, they gave strict commands that no goods should be landed at night and that all boats should repair immediately to the custom house. 'But for the Dutch, the Persian referres the matter unto us, telling us they have the Kings firmaen, which frees them from any demand they can make them, willing us to right our owne wronges, which cannot bee don unles by force'; have advised the Company of these insolent proceedings. The pepper laden on the *Hart* will not sell here, the price being very low. Have already advised concerning the customs, and their diligence herein. 'God send may bee brought to our masters account the fourth part of your estimacion.' As their endeavours have not given satisfaction, the President and Council would do well to send someone who will please them better. Signor Orlando's goods passed customs-free. Trouble with the officials over the freight of goods. Forward transcript of their consultation [*see O.C.* 1287], to which they called not Mr. Predys for certain reasons. This will show the straits to which they are reduced, their means having all been invested in silk, and their share of the customs being withheld until they obtain the new King's farmān. Have therefore been forced to truck part of the silk in exchange for Indian goods; and, in so doing have represented the silk to be their private property, though it really belongs to the Company. Desire the President to call a consultation 'for the moderacion of the excesse rates the goods are delivered at unto our masters, being 35 per cent. and upwards profitt, besides charges allowed and the

[1] The best galls still come from Mosul, which is probably the place indicated.

overrates of their invoyces'. Excuse their not writing at great length, owing to the many demands on their time at present. Trust to do better in freights than last year. Forward an abstract of last year's customs. Mr. Wodder is sorry that he cannot balance his books in time to send them by this fleet. Transmit an invoice and bills of lading for the goods now sent; also 'a bill of Dr. Gouges [1], who pretendeth himselfe executor unto the Embassadour deceased and hath promised payment therof unto you at Surratt'. A second horse allowed to be sent by Mīrzā Mahmūd. 'Wee admire that Mr. Wyld, a man soe eminent in place, should not only attempt in his owne particuler the sending such large cargazoones as hee doth on every your fleetes, but alsoe that hee should by his correspondency with the meanest youngker in the factory (as appeares by the inclosed transcript of his letter) incourage their proceedes in the like, having alsoe this presente yeare supplyed the sayd party, John Antill, with quanteties of monies (at the rate of 20 per cent. proffitt) at Surrat to bee payd here in bandar [Pers. *bandar*, a port, &c.]; the sayd monies being imployed in severall cumbustious merchandize hither imported, which wee in respect of his greatnes are forced to connive at.' Endeavoured to obtain assistance from the fleet, their numbers being but small, but no one was willing to remain. Mr. Wylde's encouragement of inferiors has led some to be insolent, as in the case of the said Antill. Enclose list of papers sent. (*Copy. 9 pp. Endorsed as received by the* Expedition, *the original having been sent in the* Jonas.)

President Wylde and Messrs. Skibbow, Page, and Boothby to the President and Council at Bantam, March 30, 1629 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 513).

Wrote last by the *Mary* and *John*, which sailed on November 12. Send now but a brief letter, as they will be writing again shortly by the *Jonah*, *Christopher*, and *Eagle*, which are to set out within fifteen days. The pinnace *Coco-nut*, or *Little James*, was attacked by the Portuguese on December 11, and was blown up with powder by her own crew. Thirty men lost or taken prisoners. Request that any Portuguese captives at Bantam may

[1] Henry Goche, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and chaplain to Sir Dodmore Cotton.

be sent to Surat to be exchanged ; those dispatched in the *Swallow* to Armagon were released at her arrival there (November 29), before the Surat letters had been received. Forward transcripts of letters from Armagon (January 2) and Masulipatam Road (February 23), received here on March 19. Dispatch to England of the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star*, and rumour of an engagement between them and a Portuguese squadron. The *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell* are now lading for home and, but for the delay in the arrival of the Agra goods, would have gone to sea with the present fleet. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.* *Received June* 8.)

ALĪ, PASHA OF BASRĀ, TO THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH CHIEFS AT SURAT [ABOUT MARCH, 1629] (*O.C.* 1290).

Complains of infinite wrongs and molestations received from them, in surprising the merchants of his port and ruining their trade. Considers it very strange that, in spite of the ancient friendship that has subsisted between his King and theirs, as shown by the residence of an English ambassador ('a man of great estimation') at the court of the former, they should confederate with and give aid to the enemies of Turkey. They have taken Ormus and given it to the Persians, and in consequence 'the trafficke and recourse to Ballserra, Kutteefe,[1] &c., hathe been quite disolved'. Informed his master of the injury done by the English and Dutch to His Majesty's country and subjects, whereupon the King summoned the English ambassador[2] and demanded the reason. The ambassador replied that he was ignorant of any such passage but would write to his countrymen and 'forbid them from further proceeding to Persia and to remove their commerce thence to some other place'. Sends letters from the ambassador, and requests a speedy answer thereto. Formerly dispatched these letters to Gombroon for conveyance to them, but this was not accomplished, and so he has now sent them direct by a trusty messenger, who will carry back their reply. This should not

[1] Al-Katīf, on the Arabian side of the Gulf, not far from Bahrain. The citadel is said to have been built by the Portuguese.

[2] Sir Thomas Roe, who wrote in Nov., 1625, that the Turks were beginning to quarrel with him for the aid given by the English to the Persians (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1625–9, p. 117).

be delayed, as the ambassador's letters came hither a long time ago. (*Translation.* 1½ *pp.* *Endorsed as received by the* Hart, 1629.)

MĪRZĀ MAHMŪD, A MERCHANT OF SURAT, TO THE COMPANY, [? APRIL, 1629] (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 110).

Trusts that Mr. Kerridge has reached England safely. Praises his 'good carriage and commendable deameanor', which 'hath deserved theise peoples loves'. Mr. Wylde, his successor, has also behaved well; but Mr. Burt, the Agent in Persia, has demeaned himself badly, 'spending his time in drinking and company keepeing, very ill beseeming your repute and creditt.' Begs that Mr. Kerridge may be re-appointed President, as 'hee is very well belovde of the inhabitants etc., whoe are highly contented with him and have him allwaies in remembrance'. Will ever be ready to do service to the Company. (*Contemporary translation.* ¾ *p.* *Endorsed as received by the* Hart *in* 1629.)

PRESIDENT WYLDE, JOHN SKIBBOW, GEORGE PAGE, AND RICHARD BOOTHBY AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 11 AND 13, 1629 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 134).

Complaints against Jeronimo de Paiva and Thomas Robinson. Eustace Man cleared from the latter's accusations. Eight thousand mahmūdīs remitted by exchange to supply the wants of Armagon and Masulipatam, but meanwhile those factories had received supplies from Bantam by the *Swallow.* The Portuguese have had no reinforcements this year. Of three ships sent from Lisbon, only the smallest has reached Cochin, and the others are thought to be lost. For freight to Persia from Surat the sum of 3,400*l.* was received, and it is hoped that the customs will realize as much. The natives here maintain that the English are bound to carry them and their goods to Persia. A man needed who can speak and write Dutch. All the quicksilver sold at Ahmadābād for 7*s.* 4*d.* [per lb.]; 20,000 lb. will sell yearly, but not more. They were forced to buy two stammel cloths of the Dutch. Request the annual supply of 100 broadcloths, 100 Devonshire kerseys, and 100 perpetuanoes. The coral brought by the *Mary* and the *Jonah* has been disposed of; a hundred chests may be sent yearly. Deficiency

in the measure of the tapestry, which still lies at court unsold. It is necessary to have someone to reside there. 'All degrees in India do give us good respect.' The Agra indigo costs the Company three times as much as the Sarkhej. Cinnamon sent by the last ships. Captain Morton to deliver certain pieces of plate to the Company. Sale of Sir John Gore's polished coral. Some guns and anchors sold to the Governor of Surat. The lead was disposed of for 23*l.* the fodder at Surat, and 31*l.* at Ahmadābād, though the Dutch maliciously undersold them ; a thousand pigs per annum will suffice. Red wood and betel nuts sold in Surat. Amber beads fetched 29*s.* the lb. at Ahmadābād. All kinds of gold can only be put off at a loss, but silver will yield in proportion to the rial of eight. English shillings pass for a mahmūdī and one pice. Everything sold except some remains at court. Trust that the Joint Stock will not be divided up till their debts are paid. The Turks have protested against the English trade with Persia. Elephants' teeth now worth 65 rupees [? mahmūdīs] the maund ; they lose greatly in weight. Intend to start a fresh investment at Ahmadābād, but will buy no indigo till instructions come from England ; the Dutch sent no flat [Sarkhej] indigo last year. The factories at Broach and Baroda will be kept in action. The 'nicanees' of the latter place are the cheaper ; they mean to buy some, and also more blue 'kestes'. Fear the great quantity of cotton yarn sent home will cloy the market ; so will not furnish much more. Propose to dispatch the *Jonah* and another ship to England next December. Gumlac 'in lumpes' purchased. Of saltpetre they have ordered a large quantity. Mountney praised ; his wages augmented to 70*l.*, 'and 10*l.* rising.' A bale of 'patollees' missing ; Hopkinson blamed. William Fall owes 253½ mahmūdīs. A weekly allowance of 20*s.* made to the sea commanders for extraordinary expenses. They contemn all authority ; but some orders will be framed to restrain them, with penalty of the forfeiture of their wages. 'They presume vearie much upon your comissions given them ; they spend much in their cabbins.' Of dry ginger from 50 to 60 tons can be supplied yearly at 26*s.* the cwt. 'Synda solliceteth us to settle a factory there ; which we meane to attempt, having sent thither a broker to bring us musters of all comodityes there.' 'The King intendeth to banish all Portugalls out of his

dominions, if with the help of your forces he maie prevaile against Diu, &c., which he purposeth to attempt.' Send a large quantity of 'shashes' and trust they will give content. Have bought from Vīrjī Vōra 20,000 maunds of pepper. Expect that their credits will stand good for other employments this year. Bantam is not so free that quantities of cheap pepper may be counted upon from thence; so they will provide that commodity until it is countermanded. An allowance of 20*l.* a year towards apparel has been given to William Fremlen, 'being at court.' He is much commended and the increase of his salary is solicited. The pay of two bakers, Thomas Stubbs and John Coulton, has been raised to 30*s.* per month. Of bloodstones some are deep and some pale. Jewels returned to England. A bale of plush has also been sent back, as useless. The mercery ware is mostly lying unsold at court. 'Peace hoped for throughout this land. Azuph Caun in great esteeme; is our freind still.' Indigo and saltpetre bought at Ajmer. A factor has been sent in each of the three ships to Bantam. The *Jonah* is to spend the winter there and then return; also the *Christopher*, if she can be trimmed. Richard Predys is to return; but Ralph Cartwright will remain there, while John Webb may stay or come back as is thought best. Lading will be provided for the *Jonah*, though the factory is much in debt. The accounts for Surat, Ahmadābād, and Baroda now forwarded; those for Broach were sent previously, and those for Agra have not yet arrived. Nathaniel West commended. Richard Boothby has been ordered to Baroda. 'William Burt againe accused of manie crimes, in a large field of perticulers, in great bitternes.' Wylde's excuses for private trade. Comparison between his services and Burt's, especially in his obtaining so great credit at Surat. The Persia accounts kept back, as they have not yet been examined; their submission in duplicate will be ordered for the future. Debts of Jeronimo de Paiva. 'Free lyberty to take all Portugall goods in all portes.' Mokha taken from the Turks by the Arabs. Letters sent to Aden for the release of the English prisoners there. Doctor Goche's bill forwarded; also copies of letters received from Masulipatam. Three antelopes shipped. Mr. Burt's insolencies will grow incorrigible if he be not checked from England. Have dispatched to Bantam a horse for the King, with four greyhounds for the King

of Macassar. 'This new King doth rely upon our aide for the assalting of Daman and Diue; if we have not forces we shalbe disgraced.' Desire presents for the Governor of Surat, such as tapestry and scarlet or violet cloth. For lack of wine they have been forced to supply the ships with more rack. Cotton yarn left behind by the ships. Cotton wool sent to Bantam. Boothby complains of his removal to Baroda. (*Abstract only.* 2 *pp.*)

President Wylde and Messrs. Skibbow, Page, and Boothby to the President and Council at Bantam, April 13, 1629 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 515).

Wrote on March 30 by the Dutch fleet under Van den Broeck,[1] which after all did not sail till three days ago. Had previously written by a Dutch ship on November 17, 1628. The *Coco-nut* or *Little James* was attacked on December 11 in Surat river by seventeen Portuguese frigates; and, the master being slain, his mate (Short) set fire to the gunroom and blew up the vessel, with over seventy Portuguese. The English lost also two barges and thirty men, about half of whom were taken prisoners. Would be glad to receive any Portuguese captives that may be at Bantam, in order that an exchange may be effected. Those sent in the *Swallow* were released before intelligence of this disaster had been received. 'With our pinness aforesaid went four contry boats laden with goods for Sually, surprised by the Portugall, to the valew of ma[hmūdīs] 150,000, as themselves report. These they shamed not to require or demand of us,[2] though we knew not of their going nor hadd any obligation at all to their defence. This caused us to informe the King of the wrong donne to his port, and if he pleased to grant us lycence we would indeavour to right both him and ourselves uppon the Portugalls; which he hath since confirmed unto us in verry ample manner by his firmance, receaved four days since; whereof we should not doubt but to make good use within few moneths, were our forces such as heretofore; but,

[1] Pieter van den Broeck had handed over charge at Surat to Jan van Hasel on November 22, and had soon after proceeded to Persia in command of the Dutch fleet. After his return to Surat, he sailed on April 10, 1629, for Batavia, where he arrived in June, leaving again for Holland six months later.

[2] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 298.

haveing the *Jonah* only left us belonging to this factory, we are not like to performe any thing this yeare, except well supplyed from England, as we hope we shall be, and assisted by you.'[1] Departure of the *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star* for home on December 27. Their rumoured encounter with four Portuguese galleons is a report raised by the Dutch, of which no confirmation can be obtained. The Persia fleet did not return until March 12. This caused the detention both of the fleet for England and that for Bantam. The Presidency is heavily in debt, owing to the expenditure on all these ships, together with the remittance of upwards of 6,000*l.* to Masulipatam, added to the 40,000*l.* of debts at Mr. Kerridge's departure, and charges since. The receipts from England have been but 61,000*l.* in goods and money. The former have been sold, except a few remains at court of small value. On January 9 they forwarded to Armagon a bill of exchange for 1,000 pagodas, for which they paid 8,000 mahmūdīs to the Dutch chief at Surat, Van Hasel. Have sent by these ships 10,000 maunds of rice, 2,000 maunds of wheat, and 20 cwt. of biscuits. The *Jonah* may be able to spare them a further quantity of the last. Would have supplied them with butter, oil, and 'gravances' [pease], but had much trouble in getting sufficient for the homeward-bound fleet. 'The want of rayne the last yeare hath made all provitions scarce and deare.' Have forwarded 'one large bay horse, with four Pertian greyhounds'. No saddle was asked for, and it is understood that 'they are not usefull in those parts'. 'Notwithstanding all our indeavours and perswasive resons unto these principalls, we have not byn able to divert them from the sending goods uppon our shipps untill absolute deniall became our best safety; which we have used as well to the chiefe Moores and our frends as to the Itallian and French Christians and Armenyans, whoe have much importund us for passadge of their persons and goods for Bantam, as unwilling uppon news of Battavias troubles to goe uppon the Duch, on whome they have ever trusted and have byn privelledged in this kinde, [and] had therefore provided large cavidalls for those parts.

[1] Among the *Hague Transcripts* (series i. vol. ix. no. 296) will be found a copy of a letter from Shāh Jahān to the Viceroy at Goa, complaining of the conduct of the Portuguese in capturing the vessels of his subjects, and threatening that, unless restitution be made, he would take Bassein and Damān from them.

Being thus ingaged, and finding absolute denyall from us, [they] are forced to runne their fortune with the Duch [and] are all therefore, as well Christian strangers as Moores and goods, gonn uppon their shipps, the goods of Hagee Zahed [Hājī Zāhid], our new Shaubander and especiall frend, excepted; to whome, besides we are indebted upwards of 6,000*l.* sterling, our masters affayres and our persons owe many respects.' Beg that his five bales may be sold and the proceeds sent back by the *Jonah*; as there are no goods of the Company's in this fleet the favour will not injure them. Have also permitted Mīrzā Mahmūd, 'our ancient and good frend,' to embark a small quantity of rice and butter as provisions for his servants at Bantam, who are to return in the *Jonah*. Further, a kinsman of their landlord has been granted passage to Bantam. The *Christopher* and *Eagle* are left to the disposal of the Bantam Council. The former is in very bad condition, or they would have sent her to England instead of the *Hopewell*. It is doubtful whether she is worth repairing. The *Jonah* is to return as soon as possible, as they intend to lade her for England 'at the first of the yeare'. She should bring any pepper that can be spared, and also some cloves, mace, nutmegs, turtle shells, and sandalwood, all of which will sell to profit here; and so would the china ware now at the Coast, 'if it be good and large.' As their forces next year 'are like to be but small and weake to undertake the enterprize we are likely to have in hand by joyneing with this King in the surprizeall of Demon and Diew, townes and forts belonging to the Portugalls and in his dominions', they beg that the *Christopher* may also be sent back if she can be repaired in time; failing her, some other ship or ships should accompany the *Jonah*, for they firmly intend next season to attack one or both of those places. Having more factors than means to give them employment, and finding it necessary to send a merchant on each ship, 'in case of reprizalls . . . to keepe account and registry of all their actions,' they have appointed Richard Predys to proceed in the *Jonah* and to return in her. Ralph Cartwright is sent as a passenger in the same ship, and is recommended for employment. John Webb takes his passage in the *Eagle*; he may be kept or returned, as may be thought best. Explanation regarding a missing bale of 'pattolees'. Would be glad to hear what the Company has

decided about the Bantam trade, and what hopes they have of the subscription of a fresh stock at home. Their inability to send a cargo of goods in these ships was due to their large returns for England. Trust that the news of the removal from Batavia to Bantam, 'with the large incouragments our masters have received from hence these last two years, will give life agayne to their declyneing accion and move a new subscription to a third stock; which, if performed butt in a resonable manner, will bring them in a fayre recompence, for it is only want of stock and meanes truly to manage their trade that is cause of the small bennefitt and proffitt it hath given them; for had they a stock of 200,000*l.* in each place it would draw little more expence thereon then now it doth, being scarce one quarter part in these parts, and farre less with you. Hereunto they have given us fayre hopes by their last letters.' They trust to receive a larger supply than usual next season; if not, 'we are like to loose our gayned reputes with this King and our creditts with his subjects and people, to whome we are and shall be indebted, before any supply cann come unto us, little less then 100,000*l.*' *P.S.* (*April* 14)—At the earnest request of 'Cojah Nazan' [Khwāja Nizām], 'chief merchant and our especiall frend in Cambaiett' [Cambay], they send three bales of his goods in the *Christopher*; the proceeds should be returned in the *Jonah*. Cotton wool also forwarded. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE OF THE *HART*, BY PETER ANDREWS (*Marine Records*, vol. xlix. p. 52).[1]

1629, *April* 15. The fleet, consisting of three ships (*Jonas*, *Christopher*, and *Eagle*) for Bantam, and three (*Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell*) for England, set sail from Swally. *April* 24. Anchored at 'Mountdillee'. *April* 25. A junk arrived. 'They sayde that they came from Suratt and had a passe both from the Dutch and Englishe; but howsoever they made prize of her.'[2] *May* 1. The Bantam ships parted company. *June* 7. Saw Rodriguez. *June* 13. Anchored in a harbour at Mauritius. *July* 25.

[1] Compare the narrative of Thomas Herbert, who was a passenger in this ship.

[2] And ill-treated the crew: see the story in Herbert (p. 298). The sequel, showing how the President and Council at Surat were forced to make restitution, will appear in the next volume.

Sailed. Mauritius is an 'iland of all ilands, as I maye terme it, for the abundant plenty and goodnes'. *July* 28. Reached an island 'called by the Dutch the Mascarenos, and by judgement it should bee the iland which the *Pearle* mett withall, and by them called Englands Forrest' [*see* p. 263]. 'Wee hoysed out our skiff and sent hir ashoare with 4 shee goats and one ram goat and two sowes and a boare.... Our people had noe time to staye ashore, but having landed theire cattle, which was put ashoare for increase, they came awaye. They saw nothing there but an infinite mullti-tude of land turtles. There went one of our men ashoare in the skiff that was in the *Pearle*, and hee maintaynes it to bee the same iland that they mett with in hir.' *August* 27. Lost the *Expedition* in the night. *August* 30. Saw land. *August* 31. Lost the *Hopewell* this night in a storm, but she rejoined next day. *September* 3. Saw Cape Agulhas. *September* 7. Got into Table Bay. *September* 14. The *Expedition* came in. *September* 21. The fleet sailed. *October* 8. Anchored off Lemon Valley, in St. Helena. 'The same daye Captaine Evans would needs goe ashoare; there was no hindring of him.' *October* 9. 'This daye hee dyed in the afternoone.'[1] *October* 10. 'Wee buyred him in the chappell.' Andrews was transferred to the *Hopewell* as master. *October* 14. Sailed. *November* 24. Spoke the *Tiger*, commanded by Mr. Ellis. *December* 13. Saw the Lizard. *December* 18. Anchored at Plymouth. 1630, *January* 7. Sailed, having been detained hitherto by bad weather. *January* 10. Reached the Downs. *January* 12. Anchored at Gravesend. (23 *pp.*)

Another Account, by David Davis (*Marine Records*, vol. xliv. p. 91).

1629, *March* 26. Began to lade for England. *April* 15. The fleet sailed. *April* 24. Anchored at 'Mount Ely'. *April* 25. Sailed again. *May* 1. Quitted the *Jonas* and her fleet. *June* 6. Saw Rodriguez. *June* 12. Anchored at Mauritius. *June* 13. Found letters from Captain Hall, with news that six Dutch ships had been there 'at Christmas before his comming thither'. *July* 23. The *Hart* and the *Expedition* went out into the road. *July* 24. Davis carried on board some salt he had manufactured.

[1] He had been injured by a manatee at Mauritius (see Herbert, pp. 348, 355).

July 25. They departed. *July* 27. Saw 'the English Forrest'. *September* 1. Lost company with the *Hopewell*, but rejoined next day. *September* 3. Saw the African coast. *September* 7. Got into Table Bay and found the *Hopewell* there. Minors brought on board some letters left by former ships. *September* 14. The *Expedition* arrived. *September* 21. Sailed. *October* 8. Reached St. Helena. *October* 14. Departed. *November* 24. Spoke the *Tiger* of London, bound for Bermuda. *December* 13. Saw the Cornish coast. *December* 18. Anchored in Plymouth Sound. (19 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY DANIEL HALL IN THE *EXPEDITION* (*Ibid.*, vol. l. p. 20).

1629, *April* 13. Left Swally Hole. *April* 15. Set sail. *April* 20. Saw Goa. *April* 24. Anchored in 'Mount Deloy Bay', sailing next day. *May* 1. The *Jonas* and her consorts departed. *May* 13. Crossed the Line. *June* 7. Saw the island of 'Degroroys' [Rodriguez]. *June* 13. Anchored at Mauritius, and found hanging on a tree a stone bottle containing letters left by the *Mary* and *Speedwell*. *July* 25. Departed. *July* 28. Saw 'the Mascrenes' [Réunion]. *August* 27. Lost company of the *Hart* and *Hopewell*. *September* 14. Rejoined them in Table Bay. *September* 21. Sailed again. *October* 8. Anchored at St. Helena, and found a letter left by Richard Allnutt, master of the *Speedwell*, which had been there from July 25 to August 3. *October* 9. Captain Evans, commander of the fleet, died. *October* 14. Sailed. Hall was now in the *Hopewell*. *October* 20. Saw Ascension. *November* 24. Spoke the *Tiger*, commanded by Captain Ellis, with John Rose as master. *November* 30. Saw Pico [Azores]. *December* 13. The Lizard sighted. *December* 18. Anchored at Plymouth. (18 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT WYLDE, JOHN SKIBBOW, AND GEORGE PAGE AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 27, 1629 (*O.C.* 1292).

Having an opportunity of sending letters to Ispahān, they give a brief relation of their affairs, though they wrote fully on December 21 (with postscript of the 26th) and also by the *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell* on the 11th current (with postscript of the 14th). The *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *Star*, with cargoes amounting to 53,437*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*, sailed on December 27, and three days later parted company

with the Persia fleet. The report of their encounter with four Portuguese galleons two days after their separation was only a rumour raised by the Dutch; 'from others wee have not understood that the enemy hath this season been abroad, or is able to sett his shipps to sea for want of mariners and seamen to sayle them.' The *Hart, Expedition*, and *Hopewell* sailed for England on the 15th current, with ladings amounting to 51,154*l.* 6*s.* With them departed the *Jonah*, *Christopher*, and *Eagle* for Bantam, leaving behind over 400 bales of goods, which the *Christopher* was too weak to carry. By these ships were sent the Surat accounts, balanced to February 20, whereby it will be seen that the factory is indebted 70,000*l.* at interest. By the time the next fleet arrives, the amount will probably be 100,000*l.*; but, as their credit remains good, they doubt not to keep the factories in action and provide lading for the *Jonah* and another ship about the end of the year. Have formerly advised the trouble they have had to put off the gold received in the *Jonah*, owing to its great fall in price. No more should be sent, or at least not above one part to three of silver, until they encourage the Company thereunto. 'Silver will beare his value according to proporcion with the riall of eight in any part of Europe, and our English (as formerly advised) will yeild 5 per cent. proffitt, if the mamudie fall not under 20 pice, as it is not likely.' The quicksilver arrived in good condition, and was sold here and at Ahmadābād for Rs. 95 per maund. They can sell at about that price up to 600 maunds per annum, but more will cloy the market. The coral was all disposed of to 'our accustomed merchant, Virgee Vora', part at 36 and the rest at 26 per cent. below the value fixed in the customhouse, which was double the invoice price. The amber beads were sold in Ahmadābād for Rs. 9¼ per seer. A similar quantity will sell yearly; but the people here seem to prefer the amber 'rough and unwrought'. Of the lead, part was trucked at Ahmadābād for Sarkhej indigo, the lead being rated at Rs. 3¾ per maund and the indigo at Rs. 54 and 55 per fardle of four maunds seven seers; the rest was taken here by Vīrjī Vōra at 7 mahmūdīs per maund in exchange for pepper at 16 mahmūdīs per maund. 'Herof 1,000 sowes, or maunds 12,000, will suffice this place yearly.' The stammell cloth sent in the *Mary*, with the remains of Venice reds and greens, have been sold at court

for Rs. 12 and Rs. 7 per 'coved' [*see* p. 87] respectively—'prices not knowne in theis parts theis many yeares.' A hundred cloths yearly will away at good rates, if the seamen can be prevented from bringing any; and of these sixty should be stammells (of 18*l.* or 20*l.*), twenty reds, and twenty greens (of 11*l.* or 12*l.* per cloth). A similar number of Devonshire kerseys and as many 'perpetuanaes' will sell 'in the contorne of a yeare'. The only goods left are some old remains at court, and these have probably been sold at the last 'Norooz' [*see* p. 127]. Of Biāna indigo they have this year shipped 1,200 fardles, which is a larger proportion than ever was sent before. Its high price (Rs. 36 and 37 per maund) and the cost of transport make it very dear, quite treble the cost of Sarkhej indigo, which is now much better manufactured than formerly, and costs only Rs. 12 to 16 per maund. Unless the yield in England is proportionate, they think it would be well to confine themselves to the Sarkhej variety, which can be more easily brought down to the ships. Cotton goods are cheap in Ahmadābād, Broach, Baroda, and Surat. Shall not do much at the first place this year. Messrs. Barber and Boothby are to proceed shortly to Broach and Baroda with 30,000 mahmūdīs apiece, to set on foot the investments ordered. At Surat they are buying but sparingly, as prices will be lower in the rains. Of saltpetre they have sent more this year than ever before; and have given orders to purchase this year all procurable, both in Agra and Ahmadābād. 'The King hath forbidden its buying in Agra till hee bee supplyed with 10,000 maunds powder hee hath commanded to bee made in that place.' As for sugar, the last fleet carried 364 fardles, bought in Agra; but it is grown so scarce and dear that they are not likely to be able to get any this year except at very high prices. The ships arrived from Persia on March 12, bringing 93 bales of silk and three horses. In the invoice sent to them was added a fourth horse, belonging to Richard Predys. The deficiency found in the weight of the silk has been notified to the Agent, whose false and unjust imputations on the President have been separately answered by the latter. 'The 5th current wee received a firmaen from this King, warranting our proceeds in all manner of surprizalls of Portugalls vessells or others under their jurisdiccion, whether at sea or in port; and the day following I had conference with Meirmoza, our new Governor, about our former

projects against the Portugall, which hee assured mee the King intended to put in execucion the next season after the raines, and did expect our assist by sea, according to our proffers made him the last yeare; which to performe wee see as yet little hopes of possibillity, through the want of sea forces, except Your Worships doe supply us this yeare with a more then ordinary strength; for wee have now left us, belonging to this factory, but the *Jonah* only. . . . All the discontented rajaes and nobles of this kingdome are come and have submitted their obedience to the King, whose favour alsoe is in a more larger manner extended towards them then hertofore; soe as there is noe likelyhood but of a longe continued peace. Amongst the rest your accion and servants have participated of none of the least of his honours; and both sitt at this time in India with more respects and esteeme then ever.' (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

President Wylde, John Skibbow, and George Page at Surat to the Agent and Factors in Persia, April 27, 1629 (*O.C.* 1293).

Received on March 12 their letter of February 20, which is 'fuller of false and base calumniacions flung uppon this Councell, especially on the President, then of needfull advises concerning our masters affaires'. Have sent home transcripts of that and of the President's letter to John Antill, whose slavish usage by Mr. Burt will no doubt be seriously taken into consideration. At the proper time they will prove Burt's accusations to be as false as he himself is dishonest. Meanwhile, as the messenger is waiting, they have only leisure to send these few lines to direct them, on penalty of forfeiture of a year's wages, to forward immediately overland the enclosed letters to the Company. In obedience to the standing orders of the latter, these are sent open for perusal by the Persia factory; and this rule ought always to be observed, notwithstanding private contempt and differences. Mr. Burt, however, would have covered his last to the Company, either out of disrespect to this Presidency or because he was ashamed that they should see 'his vile, infamous, and false aspercions'. Have not failed to give sufficient satisfaction to their masters, who will easily discern the source of 'this envie, spleene, and mallice'. In due time will 'lett your pride and presumption know your duty and respects to us and

our authority conferred on us by His Majestie our soveraign and the Honourable Company our masters over all their subjects and servants in India, Persia, and Arabia'. Received by the fleet 93 bales of silk and three horses. Deficiency of weight in the former, which argues either carelessness or dishonesty. The horse which Burt added to the invoice for Surat (but not to that sent to the Company) manifests his base proceedings with Predys, to whom he delivered it fourteen days before in exchange for goods; of this they have duly informed their masters. Wylde repudiates the charges regarding his private trade; all that he sent was one bale of 'alejaie'[1] and some steel, and 'he that shall say I had other goods is a villaine and infamous rascall'. He denies also that he lent money to Antill or received goods from him. It is true that he advanced 60*l.* to Williamson, to be repaid, with 20 per cent. added, on his return; but this debt has been discharged in cash, and he only lent the money out of consideration for Williamson's needs. The horses given to Dr. Goche, Captain Swanley, and Captain Evans, and the one sent to Mr. Skibbowe might as well have come on the Company's account. The refusal to ship those for Mīrzā Mahmūd and other friends will be considered hereafter. With regard to the suggestion that satisfaction should be required from the private traders for overcharges in the goods exchanged for silk, and that the silk should be taken back for the Company's use, they answer that they can do nothing in the matter, because Burt has failed to send both the names of the parties and particulars of the goods. They have employed their means to greater advantage than in buying silk. Inquire why the quantities of cloth, indigo, &c., received by Messrs. Burt, Wodder, and Loftus have not been brought to the Company's account, but have been passed over in silence while so much has been said about the private trade of others. Since Burt thinks it meritorious to be an informer in the matter of private trade, Wylde thinks he may claim credit for having begun to be a reformer thereof, first in himself and those about him and next in Burt and his associates. They at Surat do not send the Company the King's and favourite's farmāns, fuller of vain titles (suiting the ambitious dispositions of vainglorious fools) than

[1] A striped cloth (often partly of silk) manufactured in the north of India: see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Alleja'.

really importing their benefit and increase of trade, but they dispatch instead ships fully laden with commodities. Nor do they write home that if assured of supplies they can have credit to the port for a hundred bales of silk; they themselves have credit for ten times as much and more, 'even to our owne country.' They have not, out of distrust of the Company's performance, kept back 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* for their own maintenance, but have on the contrary pledged their credits for 70,000*l.* or 80,000*l.* borrowed at interest. These are real services and will be duly appreciated by their masters. Require the sudden dispeed of the enclosed letters by way of Aleppo or Constantinople, and of transcripts by other conveyances. Also enjoin them not to let their contempt of authority pass the limits of modesty, as it has done, alike to Moors, Dutch, and English. These private differences must not be allowed to distract the Company's business. 'If your grudge be to the person of the President, lett itt rest untill you and he meete; butt lett not the authority of his place be injured by your vile detracting languages.' (2¾ *pp. Endorsed as received in Ispahān November* 10, 1629, *and in London September* 6, 1630. *'A vearie tart or harsh letter.'*)

Thomas Johnson and Nicholas Bix at Armagon to [the President and Council at Bantam], June 4, 1629 (*O.C.* 1280).

Wrote last on May 1 by the *Jager*. Since then they have received a letter from Masulipatam, dated May 21, from which they learnt that their ship had attempted to come to Armagon but had been foiled by the wind and current and forced to return. Another attempt is intended, and it is hoped to 'beate itt upp' either to 'Penna' or to 'Calletory',[1] the former being 40, and the latter 12 miles from Armagon. If she could reach the second of these, it is proposed to take her into the river to be trimmed, as she is so rotten and leaky that her crew dare not return until she has been careened. Have, however, advised that she should be taken instead to an island near 'Narsapore' [*see* p. 17], where the Dutch

[1] The first of these seems to be meant for the mouth of the Penner River; the second for Kistnapatam, which is also called Calitore. It has a fine backwater, in which small ships take shelter or go into dock for repair.

recently careened two ships, and where it is always possible to get away; this would also be safer than 'to run into strange rivers', where much time may be lost owing to the difficulty of getting over the bar again, as was the case with the *Abigail*. They understand that the ship is much pestered with goods, but there is some hope of her sandal-wood being sold at Masulipatam. To bring it here would be mere folly, for this place has enough for two or three years. The turtle-shells have been sold at Masulipatam at a very low rate. This is 'all the meanes wee have to defraye all the greate charge of shipp and shore', and their expenses are so great that 'wee shall want money for victualls if not speedely supplied from your partes'. Cannot, therefore, fix a time 'when you maye expect us'. This ship, the *Kameel*, sailed for Batavia ten or twelve days ago, but was so leaky that she had to return to Pulicat, where she has been repaired. 'Our demands and articulles of the King of Golconda are nott yett graunted, nor the Dutches, but live as ferindly enemyes. They take all that comes into the roade; yett have wee whatt refreshing from the shore wee can or maye desire; alsoe free excess [access?] to buy, sell, or com abord att our pleasure. In licke manner is offered to the Dutch, but they will doe nothing untill there demands from the King bee granted.' (*Copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

George Brewen, Lawrence Henley, and Arthur Fowkes at Armagon to [the President and Council at Bantam], June 6, 1629 (*O.C.* 1280).

Since Mr. Johnson's letter was written the *Swallow* has arrived, after being twice forced back by contrary winds and currents. Their return to Bantam in April was impossible, for it was not until December 31 that the ship got here, and then most of her men were sick. They reached Masulipatam on February 1, but it was the middle of the month before any junks arrived, without the seizure of which there was no hope to recover their goods and their debts. Also some time had to be given for the Governor to procure instructions from Golconda; and then further time was necessary to procure payment, 'which was parte in goods and parte in money,' and to get the goods 'whitted &c.'. Assure them that every effort was made to hasten matters. Even now the ship

cannot sail until her leaks are stopped. Mr. Carter is doubtful whether this can be done here; and moreover she is so 'extreame fowle' that her voyage is likely to be a tedious one. Enclose two letters received from Surat. 'For those doubts that they object of danger to our masters estates att Surratt and Persia in our late arresting of juncks, wee have therin wee hope sufficiently satisfied them of all matters fayrlie carried and the like ended.' Will relate the particulars on reaching Bantam, for which place they hope to sail in about twenty days. Have cleared everything at Masulipatam, except some sandal-wood and a small parcel of 'crazed' porcelain, both unsaleable and now left with the Danes. A debt made by Mills at Pulicat of 231 pagodas is desperate; also one of 32 pagodas for which Duke was responsible. 'Ells all is cleared.' The account they will bring with them. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Articles exhibited against Richard Boothby by the President and Council of Surat at a General Consultation, June 9, 1629 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xi. p. 1).

1. Although appointed by a consultation on March 24, 1629, to proceed to Baroda, he has wilfully neglected the Company's business. 2. At supper one evening, he said scornfully that the factors were not schoolboys, to be prevented from going where they pleased. 3. On his declaring his intention to visit Ahmadābād and Cambay, he was warned by those present not to do so without permission; whereupon he declared that he would go in spite of the Council. 4. In his letters he refused to address the President and Council as 'Worshipful', and said that he would never do so while he was in India. 5. On May 20 he left his post at Baroda and went to Ahmadābād on private business without asking permission. 6. Writing on June 1, he taxed the Council with persecuting him. 7. He has falsely alleged that Baroda was abandoned by all men 'as a seate forlorne and perrilous and not of peceable goverment; whereas since our memory neither wronge or abuse hath fastened at any time on our people there, by magistrate or other inferior officer'; and Messrs. Barber and West accepted that post with contentment as a fair step to better preferment. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Lawrence Henley and Nicholas Bix at Armagon to [the President and Council at Bantam], June 25, 1629 (*O.C.* 1280).

Received the Bantam letter of April 30 'per Dutch convayance' on June 10. Narrate the expedition to Masulipatam. Their seizure of the junks procured compliance with their demands, whereupon the vessels were released without the least damage. Next, as they had so much sandal-wood on hand, which would vend nowhere else, they framed articles for future trade and delivered them to the Governor for transmission to the King; 'but after longe expectation of the Kings answer and noe performance but fayre promises, wee concluded itt better stand to the hazard of the sandalls sale for another season then remayne on such base and prejudiciall tearmes as formerly.' They left demands for 53,000 pagodas as compensation for their damages sustained. 'The Dutch take the same course, but more severly then wee, seizing on all juncks that come to there hands belonging to the King of Golcondah his dominion, and forbidding all vessells of forraine partes to trade in that [kingdom?].' On April 6 they seized a junk from Achin and took the best part of the cargo to Pulicat. 'They demand 53,000 pag[odas] for debts dewe to them, and after satisfacion is made will then treate of articles for future trade. The Moores as yett stand of, thincking that nether the Dutch nor wee can leave there cuntry; but surely the Dutch will shortly bring them to what agreements they liste; elce must they loose there Pegue, Achin &c. trads, which hath ben yerly for greate soms. If articles bee not granted, there is noe staying for any strangers in there cuntry; there goverment is soe badd, especially of late. Wee maye force them to itt as well as the Dutch; though our stringth is not as much as theres in this place, yett is itt enough to performe such a desine.' For further particulars refer to Brewen and his companions. The returns by the *Swallow* would have been larger had the sandal-wood been vendible. As regards any mistake in their advice, Brewen, who has had charge of the Company's estate since the death of Mills, must give reasons thereof. The turtle-shells were sold at Masulipatam, though at poor rates, because the money was needed to defray the ships' charges. This commodity has

usually fetched 14, 15, or 16 pagodas per maund, ready money. At Armagon they have got rid of some of the sandal-wood in truck for cloth. The rest they could only have sold to 'the three farmars of trade in Musulapatam, whoe are soe sackt and beaten oute of there meanes, both by the Moores and the Governour, to pay the Dutch and themselves' that payment could never have been obtained. Supply of gold thread for 'cainegoloones' [*see* p. 10]. The gold chain belonging to the Banda remains has been sold. Will endeavour to dispose of the rest of the sandal-wood; but they hope no more will be sent. It is true that the Danes have sold their stock two years running, but it was at low rates and they were only paid because the natives feared that otherwise they would take some desperate course. Are confident the President and Council will relieve them as soon as supplies come from England. 'Heare are many sorts of white cloth made, as well as payntings; of which Mr. Johnson doth carry severall peeces . . . Many other sorts wold likewise bee heare made, if they had hopes to sell them; as alsoe greate quantityes of all sorts of white cloth brought from Carera [1], nere Pettipollee, hither and to Pallicatt by watter, of which the Dutch Governour hath lately bought to the vallewe of 10,000 pag[odas].' The promised frigate will be useful, both for fetching provisions (which are excessively dear in this place) and for other purposes. She should bring some cordage and similar stores. Will be as frugal as possible, but this year they have been put to extra expense, as 'of forse wee must newe timber and cover our howse; elce cannot any of our masters goods lye drye. Wee have alwayes ben wary to keepe friends with this Naige; who of himselfe seemes conformable, but hee hath soe many mallignant knaves aboute him, who by nature are base, that never cease there falce informations against us and our best merchants, only to have there mouths stopt with guifts and bribes; which will never bee otherwise till itt pleaseth the Honorable Company to fortifie; till which tyme wee are perswaded as much must of force be given in bribes and guiftes yearly as the charge of fortification will amount to, and yett never the less vexation and hindrance in our business. Since

[1] Valentyn's map shows a port of 'Carrera' at the mouth of the Paler River. It is not found on modern maps, unless it be the now-decayed seaport of Karedu (or Caraid), near the mouth of the Manner River.

the remove of the last Governour (which was by our information to the Naige of his bad caridge) wee have lived more peaceable and our affayres taken better effect then formarly; yett such is the unconstancy of these people that noe trust may be given to there words. Beesides, this Naige stands uppon doubtfull tearmes wheather hee shall keepe his cuntry, for hee is a usurper and the true king doth daylie take from him and his fellowes confederates. On the other side the Portugalls of St. Thome are our bad nybours; who fewe dayes since ventured into Pallicatt Roade and burned a juncke, notwithstanding the Dutch forces. What resistance wee can make with our smale forces, if they should attempt, wee leave to Your Worships judgment. These premises considered, itt must needes bee requisite to fortifie for securing the Honorable Companies estate amongst such doubtfull broyles, if they intend to continewe this factory.' Repudiate the charge of seizing junks carrying supplies to Pulicat. It is true that they stopped one, but they released her as soon as they found she had a Dutch pass.[1] 'For our partes wee have kept soe good correspondence with them, and they with us, in all outward ceremony that more cannot bee expected twixt two freinds; and wee intend to follow your order in its continuance.' Thank them for the news they sent. The letter for Surat was dispatched by an express the day it was received. As regards the present state of Armagon, the merchants have provided great store of 'paintings', but as the factors have not money to beat down the prices, they are not worth buying, considering the prices they will fetch at Bantam. For want of money Johnson was compelled to truck goods for cloth at 20 per cent. advance, and to accept what sorts the merchants pleased. If they had cash they could buy to much greater advantage. 'Gould well bought will yeld here good profitt; the rather if wee had a quantity to minte into pagodes, wee having the chopp or stampt [*sic*] now in this towne.' Send a list of prices at which lead, brimstone, alum, quick-

[1] A letter from the Dutch Governor at Pulicat to Batavia, dated February 5, 1629 N. S. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 283), says that this vessel had come from Arakan, and that the English insisted on taking her into Armagon, though they afterwards released her. The writer adds that apparently the English have given up their idea of building a fort at that place and are contenting themselves with their house, in which they have about thirty men; also that they are beginning to be in bad odour with the Nāyak, and that their trade is only about one-eighth of that of Pulicat.

silver, and unpolished coral would vend here. 'But to drive soe weake a trade as nowe and formarly wee have done will not quitt the charges of souldiers and other unavoydable expence.' Request the supply of certain stores, including some wine ('in parte to countervaile the Dutch curtezie from them offten receaved'), oil, and English butter. If a fortification be decided upon, the ships should bring stones 'for the foundation and poynts of the castle'. Carter reports that store of brimstone may be had at Macassar at cheap rates; a great quantity would vend here. Henley sends his books balanced for the time he has been in charge, which was till Mills's death. Explains that the deficiencies in the weight of the cloves and sandal-wood were due to their drying in the heat. Johnson was short in his estimate of expenses for June. Wages of Jacob Fadle, who came in the *Abigail* and is now gunner of this place; he is urgent for payment, because he has married a 'mestizo' [*see* p. 98] woman. Pay of certain soldiers, viz. John Collins, Richard Barlow, Leonard Piff, and Henry Cufe. Henley desires consideration of his own salary, which is too small, and begs that someone else may be appointed to supply his place. 'Itt wilbee neere six yeares before I shall retourne to my cuntry: to longe, if I might bee my one judge, to serve for 24*l.* per annum.' (*Copy.* $5\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Received by the* Swallow.)

RICHARD BOOTHBY AT SURAT TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY [? JUNE, 1629], (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xi. p. 7).

Transmits his answer to the accusations made against him, and beseeches the Company to suspend their judgement until he has had an opportunity of clearing himself. Protests against being called a hypocrite; and complains that, though he was forced himself to take an oath, the witnesses against him were not put thereto, although he urged that they should be. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

BOOTHBY'S ANSWER TO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST HIM, JUNE 30, 1629 (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

1. He did not refuse to be employed at Baroda, though he desired to remain at Surat, both on account of his health and because his engagement was for that place. 2. If he spoke the words alleged, they were not meant to imply contempt for the Council. 3. He mentioned privately his wish to visit Ahmadābād

and Cambay, but it is false that he said he would go without permission. 4. The title of 'Worshipful' has been omitted by others when writing (as he did) a brief letter on the road. He used the title on the cover, however, and is willing to submit to better judgement. 5. He left the business in Baroda in good order and in the hands of a trustworthy man. He did not ask permission to go to Ahmadābād, because he thought it unnecessary and he intended but a brief stay. 6. He maintains that he has been persecuted. 7. He said that Baroda was a forlorn and disconsolate place, and so he found it. Others have been glad to quit or avoid it. As regards peril, he with William Price and Thomas Aldworth have several times been reviled in the streets 'with names of Ban-chude and Betty-chude,[1] which my modest languadge will not interprett', and their peons have been threatened for serving the English. With regard to the decision of the Council, that his wages should be stopped from May 20 and he shipped to England, unless he would confess his fault, ask pardon, and give security for his good behaviour, he avers that he has confessed all that he knows to be true, and is sorry for what is bad in him, acknowledging himself to be full of infirmities. As for security, he knows not where to obtain it, as none dares to befriend him; but to move them to be milder towards him he will recite to them 'a fiction which it hath pleased God to bringe to memory'. The great Apollo and his Queen having assembled a parliament at Parnassus, certain poets preferred a bill against another poor poet, who, being in want, had 'devised the playe at cards and the game called Trumpe', which they alleged to be prejudicial to their profession, and desired not only that the offender should be punished but that he should be made to give caution not to repeat the offence. Apollo found no cause for inflicting a penalty, but in order to give satisfaction commanded the poet to 'putt in cawtion'; whereupon the latter at once named Apollo and the Queen as his sureties, 'wherewith both weare well pleased and so the poore poett was dismissed.' Begs that in like manner the President and Council will become his securities, and then all differences will be ended. *P.S.*—Begs that his books and papers may be restored to him. (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] For these terms of abuse see the volume for 1618–21, p. 146, and *Hobson-Jobson* (2nd edn.), p. 56.

Lawrence Henley and Nicholas Bix at Armagon to [the President and Council at Bantam], August 20, 1629 (*O.C.* 1280).

Wrote last by the *Swallow*, which sailed on June 25. Have since put off 18 candies of sandal-wood with some money in truck for goods; but have little hope to sell more until a supply of cash is forthcoming, as it is a very dead commodity, and the Dutch have at present a great quantity. Their merchants have provided plenty of paintings and other cloths, but for want of money they can only give them good words and fair promises. Trust that a ship will arrive soon. If no supply comes this year, they will be forced again to borrow from the Dutch 'for our howse expence'. This they would not willingly do, as it is a great disparagement to their trade; 'but necessity hath no lawe.' 'The 4th Julie past arrived att Pallicat two shipps from Holland, vizt. the *Gallias* and the *David*, the one being 600 tounes, the other 200, both richly laden with quicksilver, lead, vermellyon, broadcloth, and greate quantety of gould. They sett sayle from the Downes the 10th November past, [and] brought us newes of the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, *Discovery*, and *Morris* there safe arryvall in England. They stayed in the Downes 23 dayes, yett could not tell us of any shipps of ours intended either for Surratt or Bantam; but of there owne 18 sayle, 8 in company with these two, and 8 more to come oute in December following.' The Dutch Governor at Pulicat has offered to supply them with money or European goods in exchange for bills on Surat, but for the present they have declined with thanks. On August 5 they received letters from the Governor of Masulipatam and 'Marcamaldee' [Mīr Kamāldīn], of which they enclose copies [*not extant*]. In reply they wrote that they had advised Bantam of all that had passed, and that they were now awaiting orders from thence; until these arrived they could say no more. Brewen left three debts, for which partial satisfaction has been given, and they have been debited to Bantam in the accounts. On July 30 came a copy of a former letter from Surat, a transcript of which is now sent. 'The greate King of the Gentewes is nowe in his wares growne soe powerfull that hee hath conquered and regayned all his formar dominions save only our Naige of this

place, who [it ?] is supposed cannott long subsist; wherfore perforce must leave his cuntry. What allterations these proceedings will bring unto our masters affayres in this place wee must refer unto tyme, and with that smale force wee have vigillently to stand upon our owne gards untill God send us more force; yet wee have noe cause to doubte butt that hee wilbee conformable to reason, as this our Naige hath formerly bene. But in whatt manner the Dutch will proceede with the King upon these alterations wee knowe nott, but have reason to doubt of them by reàson of there former underhand dealling.' *P.S.* (*by Henley*)—They have news from Pulicat that 13[1] ships came last year from Lisbon to spoil the English and Dutch trade in Persia and India. Five of them fell with Malacca, two at Negapatam, and the rest at Goa, except the admiral, which is not yet arrived. It is also affirmed that 30 frigates have left Goa to succour Malacca against the King of Achin, who lies before it. If a ship be sent from Bantam through the Straits of Malacca this monsoon, she must be on her guard against those frigates. (*Copy.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

William Knightley to the Company, October —, 1629 (*O.C.* 1201).[2]

Narrates his experiences at Mokha. The *Jonah* under Captain Clevenger arrived there on June 29, 1625, and found in the road the *Anne* (Bartholomew Goodall, commander), which had reached that place about eight months before. Most of her men were dead and she was in a very bad state. Clevenger at once sent on board the men he had brought for the purpose, and, after landing his own goods, transferred the *Anne's* pepper to the *Jonah*. It was decided that both ships should set sail at the beginning of August; but this was fòiled by the treachery of Robert Johnson, cape merchant of the *Anne*. Before the arrival of the *Jonah*, Johnson had promised the Pasha that a factory should be settled at Mokha; and in order to carry out this engagement, which he had not divulged to the rest of the English, he 'tooke occation to invite Captain Clevenger ashore the third time, pretendinge that it was to receave a vest sent

[1] According to Faria y Sousa only five vessels left Lisbon for India in 1628.
[2] This letter appears to have been written after Knightley's return to England.

downe by the Bashaw for him, and so that he should then take his leave of the Governor and marchants of the towne, and then depart for India ; which Captain Clevenger not mistrustinge, and havinge formerly bin verry courteously and kindly entertained by them, agreed unto, and on the first day of August he went ashore, acording to Mr. Johnsons invitation, and for his greater honor and creditt he tooke ashore some forty small shott, together with the drum and trumpetts with him, thinking to have retorned aboard that night. But so it was that within one hower after theire arivall on the shore, the Governor of the towne privately gave order to the Ameer Baharr [Amīr-ul-Bahr], who is Admirall of the Seas, to get our barge halled on the shore, and her mast, saile, and oares to be taken out, and not to suffer any English to depart the towne untill he had further order from him. So Captain Clevenger having notice of it presently went to the Governor, accompanied with Mr. Johnson, to demaund of him the reason why he should stay him and his men, not having doen them any wronge. The Governor answared it was the Bashawes pleasure that Mr. Johnsons promise should be performed which he formerly made, which was to settle a factory with them, and not to wrong us in the least kinde. Wherefore he demaunded a quantety of your Worshipps goods to be lefte ashore and four of your servants with it, and then told Captain Clevenger he and all the rest of the English should depart, for the Bashaw did not intend any wrong towards us but only desired a peaceable trade and comerce with us, the Governor also alleadging diverse abuses which had bin formerly doen on both sides, not only accusing of us but themselves also, and wishing that all things on either side might be buryed in oblivion and not hereafter to be recalled. And so with this answer Captain Clevenger retorned to the English howse. The next day Captain Clevenger, uppon request made to the Governor, got leave for all the men that came ashore with him to be sent abord and none weare then stayed but hee and Mr. Johnson and some other merchants. So Captain Clevenger perceiving how hee was intrapped by this Mr. Johnson, not only of himselfe but with the advice and councell of the rest of of the marchants there present, concluded to effect the Governors demaund, and so forthwith sent order aboard to our pursur for the sending ashore of 200 bahars of pepper and four men to stay there,

who weare appointed to be James Olliver, William Fall, and Thomas Beale, factors, and William Knightley, steward of the howse; and also to have it doen with all convenient expedition which might bee, for that the time of the yere was at hand for the departure of all vessells whatsoever for India, so that he was fearefull of loosing the monzone, for oftentimes both shipps and juncks are taken short with the winde and so are forced to stay four or five monethes within the gulfe before they can get out.' These orders were duly carried out, and on August 18 Captain Clevenger was permitted to embark. 'That day in the morning, when Mr. Johnson should have gon aboard the shipp, he dyed and the same day was buryed.' The *Anne* sailed on August 18 at night, and was followed by the *Jonah* next morning. 'The pepper which was left with us was (within fower monethes after the departure of the shipps) sold to marchants of Grand Cairo at fifty ryalls of eight the bahar, save only fifty bahar which was sold to the Bashawe for forty five ryalls the bahar; which after the Governor had demaunded could not be denied, for though he desire it as a courtesy or favour to be doen to the Bashawe, yet if it be denyed he will forbidd any other marchants for coming to our howse, not suffering them to buy it; so that in a manner he taketh it per force. Theise extremeties are used as well to theire owne nation as to strangers. About fourteen daies after the departure of our shipps there arived a great junck in the road, which came downe from Grand Cairo; who comonly cometh every yere about that time, being laden with severall sorts of comodities, as lead, quicksilver, turpentine, cordage, wheat, Venus [Venice] cloth, chambletts, etc., but not with great quanteties, for that they brought many passengers and theire necessaries, who bringe much mony with them. So after that this junck is discharged she is presently trimmed and then she is freighted by the marchants to goe to Grand Cairo againe; who taketh in her ladinge in the road of Mocho, and is alwaies laden and setteth saile in the latter end of the moneth of December and not before. Heere Your Worshipps may please to take notice that if at any time you receave any wrong or losse by the Turks in those parts, if your marchants in India doe but consigne one shipp to Mocho to be there about that time of the yere, you shalbe sure to have restitution by that junck without any resistance, and most especially for that she is

laden all or the most part with Turks goods, and but slightly fortefied with munition, being not able to withstand a shipp. There cometh also yerely from Grand Cairo to Mocho a land caphilo of some 800 or 1,000 cammells, who bringe but little ladinge save marchants and theire estates; which marchants bringe great quanteties of monies, as rialls of eight and checkeenes of gold to buy comodities; and also they bringe small quanteties of chambletts with them, which of late are sold as deere there as in England. This caphilo aryveth in Mocho every yere about the latter end of Aprill or the beginning of May, and in July followinge departeth againe for Judda and Grand Cairo, being laden with Indian comodeties, which are as followeth, vizt.: shashes, serebasts, allejaes, fine callico, dutty, pepper, cloves, etc.; of which comodeties but little will vend in Arabia it selfe. The comodeties which are vended up in the country are grosse, as callikeenes, course callico, chawders, cotton wooll, iron, rice, tobacco, and such like, of which yerely are sold great quanteties. By the relacion of both Turks and Arabs broad cloth of severall coullours will sell well up in the country, as greenes, reds, stammells, etc.; but to certefy Your Worshipps truly what quantety, I cannot. The cheife tyme of trading in Mocho is from Maye till October. As for all the other part of the yere trading is verry dead, for that most marchants doe depart the towne for that tyme. In June, 1626, arived seven Dutch shipps[1] in the road of Mocho, who came from India; whereof was comaundour Harman van Spelt, who dyed there within one moneth after his arivall. Uppon one of which shipps came Mr. Joseph Hopkinson and Nathaniell West, two of Your Worshipps servants, by order from the President and Councell of India to vew the estate of your factory and to bring us and Your Worshipps estate with them if they could. So the first thinge wee did to effect theire purpose, wee privatly conveighed Your Worships mony aboard of one of the Dutch shipps at severall times; and when that was safely taken in, Mr. Joseph Hopkinson demaunded of the Dutch that if the English who weare kept ashore could safely get abord whether they would carry them for India or noe; but the Dutch absolutely denied it, alleadging that they then should

[1] 'The *Gold*[*en*] *Lion*, the *Orania*, the *Hollandia*, the *Morities*, the *Fortune*, the *Walkeren*, the English *Bare*.'—*Marginal note*.

answare for us and that theire owne people who weare there should suffer for it if they did soe, with diverse such like reasons. Some eight daies before this Harman van Spelt died, he sent up to the Bashawe, who lyveth in Synan [Sana], sixteen daies journy of, twoe Dutch marchants with a present of 1,000 rialls of eight, and to confer with him, first to release theire people, who had bin kept there as prisoners four yeres and better; secondly, to demaund of the Bashaw satisfaction for theire monies and goods which the Turks had taken from them; and thirdly, to treat with him about the resetling of theire factory. Unto all which theire demaunds the Bashaw gave eare, but little respect, and giving them verry short answares not yeilding to any theire demaunds, and it seemed they moved his patience so much that had they not retorned the sooner he had kept them there; so that they retorned without effecting anythinge. So on the 10th of August, having ended theire busines on the shore, they set saile for India, leaving theire people prisoners as before. The comodeties that weare sold out of theire shipps weare as followeth, vizt. cloth of India, tobacco, iron, cotton wool, pepper, cloves, sanders wood, etc. In October followinge the Arabs, who are the natives of the country, began to make war and to rebell against the Turks; which though at first the Turks did not greatly weigh nor regard, yet shortly after the Arabs grew so stronge that they tooke diverse townes and villages from the Turks, still continewinge in war with them and not having ceased at our departure from thence, having diverse times beseidged all the strong places and citties in the country, but not gained any as yet, save only Aden, a port towne some fifty leags from Mocho, which is the strongest port in all the gulfe of the Red Sea; which place I doubt the Turks will hardly ever recover againe, except by peace.[1] In this time of warr the Dutch marchant who is a prisoner in Taies [Taïz], a citty some four daies journy from Mocho, hath demonstrated his vallour unto the Turks, making himselfe a gunner; who tooke uppon him to direct them about the using of theire great ordnance, and in whome they reposed great trust and made him comaunder over those soldjers who weare to ply those ordnance, not suffering them to doe anythinge without his direction; but this explanation of his abillity therein I feare will cause him never

[1] As a matter of fact the Turks never regained it.

to depart the country. The next yere, being in anno 1627, there came noe Christian vessells to Mocho, but diverse juncks of India, who that yere sold theire goods verry well, by reason of a land caphilo that came from Grand Cairo and Judda, with whome came a great company of soldjers; which caphilo brought great store of mony. So that most of the comodeties that came out of India that yere weare bought by the Grand Cairo marchants and so transported by sea to Grand Cairo.' One of the junks from India brought them a letter from the Surat President, directing inquiry to be made for the missing pinnace *Spy*. This was done, but without result. They heard of a Christian vessel cast away, but it proved to be a Portuguese frigate. 'This yere, by the President and Councells order in theire letters, wee demaunded leave of the Governor for us all to depart and goe for India; but the Governor absolutely denied it, sayinge that he dirst not for his head doe it; yet in the end with much entreaty wee prevailed and got leave for one of us. So it fell out that Thomas Beale should goe, and had order to provide himselfe so soone as he would; and was put to his choice whether hee would take passage on the Suratt junck or on Court Mahometts vessell of Chowle. Wee advised him to goe on the Surat junck, but he refused goeing in her because shee had noe defence if they should meet with Portugall friggotts on the sea, and chose rather to goe with Court Mahomett, because he was knowne to be well fitted with municion, powder, shott, and a great many soldjers. So on the 22th day of July followinge Thomas Beale imbarked himselfe on Court Mahometts vessell according to his owne desire, and that day they set saile for India. But by the way they put into Aden, where the next day Court Mahomett and some of his people landed; and towards noone (all the people of the towne not knowing any thinge) the whole army of Arabs who had formerly beseidged the towne entred the towne and slew both men, women, and children; amongst whome this Court Mahomett lost his life. But some of his people escaped and ran downe to the water-side and so got aboard; whereuppon they that weare remaining in Court Mahometts vessell set saile for India; but coming to soone uppon the coast they weare driven with a storme a great way to the southward, being out of theire way. So after the storme was over they stood theire course for Chowle. But before they got

thether there was three Portugall friggotts espied them and chased them, insomuch that they made account to run theire vessell aground close by the shore and so to have gotten ashore. But belike they had noe good pilate amongst them, but run her on a rock where shee splitt al to peeces; so that Mr. Beale with many others weare drowned. This yere the marchants who remained in Mocho lived in such continuall feare of the Arabs, and also by reason of diverse falce allarums that came daily to the towne, that they weare faine to bury theire jewells and mony under the ground diverse times, fearing they should have lost all that ever they had. The 12th of November, 1627, the Governor of Mocho certefied us of an English shipp which was put into Aden and wished us to send letters to her to advise them to come to Mocho, in regard that Aden was in the hands of the Arabs (as is formerly mencioned) and they in daunger to be surprized by them by trechery; whereuppon wee sent away pattamars forthwith with letters by land to them, advising them to get themselves out of the Arabs hands and to come to us. But so it was that untill March followinge wee could never heare from them; and then they sent us a letter and certefied us that all theire people weare dead but only twoe, that was Nathaniell Best and Henry Wickson; and therein they desired that if any English shipp came out of India to Mocho that yere that they would put into Aden and get them of.' No particulars were given, but they learnt afterwards that the ship was the *Scout*. 'The third yere, in Maye, anno 1628, arived twoe Dutch shipps, vizt. the *Bomble* [*Bommel*] and the *Weesop*, and one English shipp, the *Exchange*, as also diverse juncks of India with great chargazones of goods; but by reason of the former trobles which weare betweene the Turks and Arabs, it being as hot as ever it was, and for that there came neither caphilo nor marchants neither by sea nor land that yere, there was but small quanteties thereof solde, but also the Indians weare forced to retorne most part of theire goods back againe for India, to theire great losse and hindrance. The second day of July followinge there aryved a new Bashawe in Mocho, who was inordered by the Grand Signiour to come and take place of the old Bashawe; but by reason of the wars he could travell noe further but was forced to setle his abode in Mocho, where he was remaining when wee came away, and indeavouring to make peace

betweene the Arabs and them. In this time of his residence in Mocho, by the importunety of Mr. Joseph Hopkinson wee got free leave of him to come all away; but to certefy Your Worshipps in what manner hee soliscited him I cannott, but desire you to be referred unto his relation. On the 13th day of August, 1628, all our busines being ended and having taken leave of the Bashaw, etc., wee departed the towne and went all aboard the shipp without any interuption, and that night wee set saile for Aden.' On the 15th they anchored in the road at Aden, and learnt from a fishing boat that the two English survivors were nearly two days journey up in the country. Wrote to them of the arrival of the ship. The Governor sent off some cattle and goats and invited the English to come ashore; 'but all was but flattery and deceipt,' and the Arabs fired five shots at the vessel. So the 18th they sailed for India. While in Mokha the factors received several letters from the Pasha, 'the principall contents beinge promises of our peaceable trade and usage in his country, with diverse complements to that effect'. 'I thinke it not amisse (although Your Worshipps may alreddy be aquainted therewith) to relate unto you the privilidges and customes that appertaine to the English in Mocho, which are as follow, vizt. First, all goods whatsoever landed by the English (after notice given thereof to the Governor of the towne) are carried unto the English howse; and as it is sold, if it be poize goods it is carryed to the customhowse and weighed, but if bale goods, as callicoes, etc., then to be opened in the English howse, provided there be a scrivan of the customhowse there to take notice thereof; which privilidge is more then the natives or Indians have, for that theire bales of goods are alwaies opened in the customhowse, which is to theire losse and charge. Secondly, if wee land any goods unvendible, wee may retorne them aboard without paying of any custome. Thirdly, if wee buy goods in the towne and sell them there againe, wee pay noe custome; and for mony wee pay noe custome, neither inwards nor outwards. Fourthly, our brokeridge is one per cent., and shraffage[1] is halfe a riall per every thousand rialls. Likewise if wee bringe any commodeties to be measured, as rice, oyle, butter, or the like, whereas other men pay one keale [Arabic *kail*] or quart uppon every tummon [? Arabic *thaman*], or forty keales or quarts,

[1] The charge made for exchanging money (Arabic *sarrāf*, a money-changer).

wee pay nothinge. The great weights used there are as follow, vizt.: the bahar is fifteen frazells [Arabic *fārsala*], or 150 men [maunds], or 300 rattalls [Arabic *ratl*]. The frazell is 26 [? 20] rattalls: the men is two rattalls: the rattall is fifteen vockeas [Arabic *wuqiyyah*] or English ownces. Gold or silver weights: three red graines of the bignes almost of a pease, which is called by the name of ratter [*rati*: see p. 89 *n.*], conteineth and is the weight of a carrat English: sixteen carrats is one caffela [*see* p. 71 *n.*]: eighteen caffiloes poiz one chekeene of gold: ten caffiloes is one vockea: one vockea conteineth about an English ownce: eight caphiloes three quarters poiz one riall of eight. The measures used for cloth, etc., vizt.: the Mocho covet is twenty four inches and a half; the Surat long covet is 35 inches and $\frac{6}{10}$: the short covet is 26 inches and $\frac{7}{10}$. The measures for butter, oyle, etc.: the tummon which conteineth forty keales: the keale conteineth about an English quart: one Surat maund of oile or butter is fourteen keales or quarts.' Reached Swally on October 4, 1628. Knightley was then employed in the office at Surat, until his sailing for England in the *Blessing*. ($9\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

JOHN VIAN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN WEDDELL'S FLEET TO INDIA (*Marine Records*, vol. lii. p. 1).

1629, *March* 25. Sailed from Tilbury Hope. The fleet consisted of the *Charles* (admiral), *Discovery*, and *Reformation*, bound for Surat, and the *London*, bound for Bantam. *March* 29. Anchored in the Downs. *April* 10. Sailed, having been joined by the pinnace *Samuel*. *April* 11. Learning from a King's ship that eleven Dunkirkers were lying off the Isle of Wight, they cleared for a fight, but nothing was seen of them. *April* 15. Put into Torbay. *April* 19. Departed. In the evening they lost sight of the Lizard. *May* 5. Saw Grand Canary. *July* 9. The *London* and *Reformation* lost company. *July* 12. The *Samuel* was left behind, on account of her bad sailing. *July* 17. The *Reformation* rejoined. At noon saw Table Mountain. *August* 9.

[1] He was master of the *Discovery*, of which John Bickley was captain. Of the other vessels, John Weddell (chief commander) was in charge of the *Charles*, William Morris of the *Reformation*, John Pynn of the *London*, and William Taylor of the pinnace *Samuel*.

Saw 'John de Nova' [an island in the Mozambique Channel]. *August* 11. Passed Mayotta [one of the Comoro Islands]. *August* 12 *and* 13. Becalmed off Johanna. *August* 14. The current preventing them from making that island, they anchored at Mohilla. *August* 17. The *Samuel* arrived with a small junk she had just captured on its way from Madagascar to Mozambique. The prize proved to be of small value, as the sandalwood it carried was not of the right sort. They left the vessel and some of the crew at Mohilla. *August* 25. The fleet sailed. *September* 4. Crossed the Line. *October* 4. Got into soundings on the coast of India. *October* 9. Anchored in the port of Swally, where they found the *Jonah* and six Dutch ships. *December* 3. The *Samuel* was sent with a Dutch vessel to convoy two junks from Surat Bar to Swally. On the way back (December 5) they were attacked by twelve Portuguese frigates belonging to the Cambay fleet. The Dutch sank three of the assailants, and the *Samuel* a fourth; but in the end the English ship was burnt with the loss of thirteen men, the other seventeen being saved by the Dutch ship, which reached Swally in safety.[1] (24 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT BY NICHOLAS SHARP[2] (*Marine Records*, vol. liii. p. 1).

1629, *April* 10. The fleet left the Downs. *April* 15. Anchored in Torbay, where they found Captain Kirk's fleet. *April* 19. Lost sight of the Lizard. *June* 22. Put six guns into the hold. *July* 7. Did the same with six more. *July* 12. Left the pinnace in order to 'save our munsones'. *July* 17. Passed the Cape. The *Reformation* rejoined. *August* 3. Saw the coast of Madagascar. *August* 9. Made 'John de Nova'. *August* 11. Passed Mayotta. Remounted ten pieces of ordnance. *August* 14. Having tried in vain to fetch Johanna (which is the healthier island, though yielding less supplies), they anchored at Mohilla and sent ashore

[1] From references in two letters of 1630 (*O.C.* 1299, 1306), it appears that the loss of the vessel was due to the master, who, expecting to be boarded by the Portuguese, had laid a train of gunpowder to blow them up; unfortunately this was fired prematurely, with disastrous results to the English. The Dutch ship was the *Wesp*. Two Dutch accounts of the incident will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. nos. 295, 298; but they add nothing of importance.

[2] He was in the *Charles*.

twenty-five sick men. While there the *Samuel* came in with a prize containing sandalwood and a hundred black men and women; of the latter 'every ship tok some for to carie for Sirratt'. *August* 25. Sailed. *October* 4. Struck ground on the coast of India. *October* 9. Off Swally Captain Swanley, of the *Jonas*, came aboard, and told them that he had arrived from the southwards only three days before. In the afternoon they went over the bar, and found seven [*sic*] Dutch ships riding in the Hole. *December* 5. The *Samuel* was burnt in a fight with the Portuguese. (17 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT BY NICHOLAS PRIN[1] (*Ibid.*, vol. liv. p. 1).

1629, *April* [10]. Sailed from the Downs. *April* 13. Near the Needles saw eight ships under Captain Kirk. *April* 15. Put into Torbay. *April* 19. Departed. *July* 9. The *Reformation* and *London* lost company in bad weather. *July* 12. Left the *Samuel* behind. *July* 17. Saw the Cape and met with the *Reformation*. *August* 3. Saw Madagascar. *August* 14. Anchored at Mohilla. *August* 25. Sailed again. *October* 4. Were in soundings. *October* 9. Anchored at Swally. (12 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT MUSCHAMP, WILLIAM HOARE, AND ANTHONY VERNWORTHY AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 28, 1629 (*O.C.* 1297).

. . . . The *Jonah* arrived from Surat on June 10, followed on the 27th by the *Christopher* and *Eagle*, both very leaky. They brought rice, wheat, and cotton wool, to the value of 4,090 rials, which were very welcome in their then scarcity. The *Jonah* (Captain Swanley) sailed again on July 13 for Surat, laden with sandalwood and broadcloth to the value of 15,503 rials 52½*d*. . . . . The *Swallow* arrived on August 17 from Armagon, with goods amounting to 25,941 rials 37*d*. She proved a leaky and defective ship the whole voyage. The factory at Masulipatam has been dissolved, as directed by the Company. The debts there were recovered by seizing the junks belonging to that port; and a declaration of the cause of removal, and a protest for damages received to the amount of 52,000 pagodas, were sent to the Governor and the principal men. 'The Dutch hath traced our stepps, and

[1] He was on board the *Charles*, probably as a master's mate.

make their demaunds, both for principall and intrest for their debts owing, to a great vallue; which in apparance will divert the course of there pride and oppression, and prepaire a faire way both for there and our resetling uppon better tearmes then ever we yet enjoyed, if the comodiousnes of this trade may againe induce you to recall your former order. You may please to consider that the sorts of cloth there provided are the cheef sorts required in Jambee and Macasser factories, sold there to more profitt then anie other cloth made uppon that coast; the want whereof will not onlie deprive you of a large benifitt that might be made by the saile of goods but it will likewise force our customers at Jambee to sell there pepper to the Dutch, and make your home returnes uncertaine. The investments from Armagon hath not as yet given us much encouragment to commend that place, in regard the goods bought there hath not produced equall proffitt to that invested in other places. Your servant Mr. Johnson, who hath had the managing of those affaires, pretendeth that he hath beene forced to barter commodities for cloth, and for the want of gould or rialls to pay in part must of necessity yeeld to there price and take such sorts as they would give him, the weavers and poore people being enforced to crave licence from their Naig to trade with the Dutch to procure ready monies, which would not be suffered if we were equally supplied. This may, if you please, be prevented in the future, and we may bee provided there with the same sorts of cloth, equall in price and quallety to that of Pellicatt. Wee have likewise received some musters of white cloth made under that Naigs goverment; if they prove vendable we shall have the less occasion to use Mesulapatam. The Naige hath graunted us large priveledges for the confirmation of our trade, with libertie to fortifie for our owne securitie, which our unfriendlie neighbours the Dutch hath sought to prevent by there large presents and bribes; and when these could not prevaile, they sent there Molayan,[1] a cheef negotiator of there affaires, to farme the goverment of Armagon at tribble its usuall rent, purposely to disturb our trade; all which their dishonest practises could not prevaile with the Naig to infringe his covenants made with us, whereuppon wee may

[1] Malaya, the great Hindu merchant who is so often mentioned in the records of the time.

confide, if that place be yearelie supplied with a cargizoon of gould and vendable goods.' Unpolished coral, lead, tin, latten, brass, copper, vermilion, and quicksilver will sell there. Gold 'of Jacobus alloy' will yield profit, but rials of eight only produce loss on that coast. Half gold and half commodities should be sent, and it would be well to consign a ship direct thither from England. 'For securing of your estate there must of necessity be maintained a fort and small garrison of 50 soldiers, to defend it from the pilfring Portugalls and inland ennimies to that Naig, who are watchfull to worke us a mischeef, which may be prevented with an easy charge added to that already bestowed uppon a strong house and necessarie buildings, if you please to continue that residence. There is now 12 pieces of ordinance mounted in and aboute the house; 23 factors and souldiers remayning there, and must of necessitie continue until your further order, ether for fortifying or dissolving that factorie.' . . . . . . 'The Daines, for want of stock and shipping, have finished there Indian trade, and by report their Generall gone to surrender there castle to the Dutch for 15,000 rials; but it is supposed that that Naig will not suffer them to enjoy it peaceably unles uppon a new composicion, which will cost them deare'[1] . . . . The *Christopher* will be careened on her return from Jambi, for the purpose of sending her to Armagon next March . . . Mr. Sill will be dispatched thither . . . (*About* 2½ *pp. The rest of the letter relates to Bantam, &c.*)

[1] A Dutch letter from Masulipatam to Batavia, dated Sept. 24, 1628 N.S. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. viii. no. 270) mentioned the possibility of the Dutch obtaining Tranquebar, should the Danes decide to leave, adding that, in the event of their refusing it, Malaya, the native merchant, would take it, as he had a great trade on the coast and was afraid of being plucked by one or other of the Nāyaks. On December 15, 1629 N.S. (*ibid.*, no. 282), the Governor-General at Batavia reported to the Company that Roelant Crappe, the Danish admiral, had proposed that the Dutch should buy the fort for 12,000 or 15,000 rials of eight, but that he had refused to entertain the idea. Another letter from Masulipatam of October 2, 1629 N.S. (*ibid.*, no. 285), stated that Crappe had offered to allow Malaya to occupy the fort, paying the stipulated rent of 3,000 pardaos per annum to the Nāyak, on the understanding that the Danes might reclaim the place within three years on reimbursing Malaya all his outlay. The Dutch had again refused to take it over. The negotiations with Malaya are also referred to in no. 286 of the same series; they fell through owing to the opposition of the Nāyak of Tanjūr (vol. ix. no. 289 A).

Inventory of Household Utensils, &c., at Ahmadābād Factory, November 20, 1629 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 36).

Pots, ladles, a lamp, candlesticks, a 'coho [coffee] pott', 'one culsee' [Hind. *kalsī*, a water jar], trenchers, a still 'for to brew wine in', china dishes, two muskets and two harquebuses, two pictures ('one of the cittie of London and the other of the King in Parliament'), five 'sitternegees' [Hind. *shitranjī*, a coloured cotton carpet], three carpets, five jars 'for jugra [*see* p. 236] and water', three jars for wine, a tablecloth, napkins, coach and tent covers, four joint-stools and chairs, four cots; eleven pieces of silver, including a saltcellar and cover, a beer bowl, a cup and trencher, and six spoons; one coach and oxen; one horse. Also a list of debts due to the factory, amounting to Rs. 24,499. (*2 pp. Damaged.*)

The Company to George Willoughby and other Factors and John Barnes, Master, aboard the *Star*, November 27, 1629 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 64).

The order of precedence is to be as follows: George Willoughby, Matthew Duke, John Hunter, William Matthew, and Thomas Grove. No stores of value are to be expended without the joint consent of the master and Willoughby (or, in his absence, Duke). (*Copy. 1 p.*)

Inventory of Household Utensils, &c., at Surat Factory, December 6, 1629 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 39).

Silver plate, weighing 1,275½ tolas and valued at 2,639 mahmūdīs 18½ pice; it consisted of spoons, wine cups, a ewer and basin, beer bowls, saltcellars, a rosewater bottle, a betle box, two candlesticks and snuffers, two 'pigdanes' [Hind. *pīkdān*, a spittoon], &c. Copper pots, 'pattillas [*patīlā*] or panns,' trenchers, platters, basins, one still, a 'pann to make kandells in', 'one bassen for the great lamp in the hall', &c., weighing 764¼ seers and valued at 671 mahmūdīs 1 pice. Brass candlesticks, lamps, one basin, 'one cottora [*katorā*] or dish to drincke in,' &c., 141¾ seers, valued at 97 mahmūdīs, 1 pice. Four bowls, &c., of 'jassett [*jast*, tutenague, pewter, &c.] or mixt mettle', worth 11 mahmūdīs 3½ pice. Iron

spits, fire-irons, hatchets, 'four towas [*tawā*] to bake bread on,' 'one paire of bilboes,' &c. Curtain rods, 'fannesses [*fānūs*] or lanthornes,' and two drums. Chairs, stools, long forms, tables, joint-stools, &c. Twenty-six cots. Carpets, 'sittrongees,' and a 'jagam [*jājam*, a floor-cloth] of knytt cloth to lye under a carpett.' Tablecloths and cushions. One buckler, nineteen muskets, eight halberds, and one sword. Linen tablecloths, napkins, and towels. China 'chargers', dishes, saucers, bowls, &c. Seven horses, 'one baye tatoo' [*tattū*, a pony], [ ] oxen, one great coach, and five others. Several tents and 'rowties' [*see* p. 270] with their furniture, including 'cannetts' [*kanāt*, a canvas or cloth screen], 'semianes' [*shamiyāna*, a canopy], and 'abchannes' [*ābkhāna*, a special tent for keeping water jars in]. China and earthenware jars. Curtains. 'One scritoyra [*see* p. 134] for letters.' One stable for the oxen. A garden, valued at Rs. 1,000 or 2,250 mahmūdīs. Unrated: the surgeon's chest and instruments; two silver seals; 'one pictuer of stone'; two glass lanterns; two brass inkhorns; and three old 'callique' [calico] curtains. (3 *pp.* *Damaged.*)

John Vian's Account of the Voyage of the *Discovery* to Persia and back (*Marine Records*, vol. lii. p. 25).

1629, *December* 19. The *Charles*, *Discovery*, [*Reformation*], and *Jonas* sailed, in company with the Dutch. *December* 20. Saw seven Portuguese frigates. *December* 21. A small Dutch ship left them for Batavia. 1630, *January* 3. Saw the coast of Persia. *January* 6. Lost company with the Dutch. *January* 9. Met them again. *January* 20. Anchored at Gombroon. *February* 4. Went over to Ormus for ballast. *February* 9. Returned to Gombroon. *February* 24. The English fleet left the port, but were forced to linger two days for the Dutch. *March* 2. Lost sight of the Persian coast. *March* 15. Near the Indian coast saw fourteen Portuguese frigates, which captured two Persian junks. *March* 17. Got into Swally port. ($6\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

Another Account by Nicholas Sharp, in the *Charles* (*Ibid.*, vol. liii. p. 18).

1629, *December* 17. The *Charles* and *Jonas* went over the bar. *December* 18. The *Discovery* and *Reformation*, with six Hollanders,

followed. *December* 19. The President went ashore, and the fleet sailed, accompanied by six Surat junks. *December* 20. Saw eight Portuguese frigates. *December* 21. One of the Dutch ships left for Batavia. 1630, *January* 6. Lost the Dutch fleet. *January* 9. Met them again, but lost all the junks except one. *January* 20. Anchored at Gombroon. *February* 4. Went to Ormus for ballast, returning on the 9th. *February* 26. The English and Dutch fleets sailed for India, having five Surat junks in company. *March* 15. Saw sixteen Portuguese frigates standing west. *March* 16. Saw the *Shāhī* of Surat and six frigates, who brought letters warning them of a Portuguese squadron, consisting of five galleons and twenty-five frigates, said to be looking for them. *March* 17. The fleet went into Swally Hole. (7 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT BY NICHOLAS PRIN, IN THE *CHARLES* (*Marine Records*, vol. liv. p. 12).

1629, *December* 19. The fleet sailed from Swally. 1630, *January* 20. Anchored at Gombroon. *February* [4]. Went over to Ormus. *February* 9. Returned to Gombroon. *February* 24. Sailed. *March* 15. Saw the coast of India. Sighted twelve frigates. *March* 16. Anchored off Swally. *March* 17. Went into the Hole. (3½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATIONS HELD ABOARD THE *STAR*, NOVEMBER 18, 1629, TO MARCH 23, 1631 (*Marine Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. no. 11).

These relate either to the state of the ship, its course, or the punishment of members of its crew. They are signed by the merchants on board and the ship's officers. (*Copies.* 25 *pp.*)

INDEX

Abbās. *See* Persia, Shāh of.
Abbāsī, 301.
Abbot, Sir Morris, xxxvi; trade in jewels on his account, 33, 62, 73, 79, 95, 127, 175, 247, 271.
Abdulkūri Island, 70.
Abdullah, Sultan of Lāhej, 71.
Abdullah Hassan. *See* Abūl Hasan, Khwāja.
Abdullah Khān, 78.
Abdul-nabī, Hājī, 30.
Abigail, the, xlvi, 147, 223, 308, 338; master of, *see* Man; arrives at Batavia, 11; sent to Masulipatam, xlv, 144, 182; returns to Batavia, 200.
Ābkhāna, 361.
Ablaq, 232.
Abrahams, Jan, 292 *n.*
Abūl Hasan, Khwāja, 102, 151, 175, 240; and the Surat troubles, 32, 33, 34, 56, 201; assists the English factors, 59, 93.
Āchār, 301.
Achin (Sumatra), 11, 18, 26, 27, 64, 118; native trade to, 224, 258; brimstone from, 181; supplies for, *see* Surat; Dutch trade at, 341; King of, xxxiv, 347.
Aden, capture of a native vessel of, 36; the *Scout* detained at, xxii, xxx, 279, 288, 292, 293, 305, 353; Englishmen imprisoned there, xxii, xxx, 327, 353–354; hostile reception of the *Exchange* at, xxx, 278, 279, 292, 305, 354; captured by the Arabs, xxx, 351, 352; Governor of, 279, 288, 293, 354.
Agate hafts and trenchers, 95.
Āghā Nūr. *See* (*as also in similar cases*) Nūr, Āghā.
Agra, references to, *passim*; letters from, 189, 228, 234, 239, 246, 270, 271; letters to, 183; Governor of, 174, 196; and the succession, 207; debts at, 228, 239, 248, 270; factors at, *see* Bangham, Cartwright, Clement, Clitherow, Goodwin *and* Offley; complaints against, 157, 213, 246; their salaries, 314; housing of factors at, xxiii, 174, 246; warehouse at, 240; factory accounts, 306, 327; trade at: in indigo, 94, 153, 214, 228, 326; in other commodities, xxx, 62, 63, 90, 150, 153, 176, 208, 228, 239, 270; state of trade at, 61, 62, 189, 228; supplies for, 270, 273, 275, 299; caravans from, xxiv, xxx, 176, 228, 234, 247, 269–73, 275, 307; troubles with the authorities at, xxx, 270; proposed dissolution of the factory at, 307; Shāh Jahān at, xxv, 229, 240; present from the factors to him, 228, 229; Dutch at, xxx, 90, 189, 228, 239, 247; their Agent at, *see* Vapour; on bad terms with the English, 246.
Agulhas, Cape, 313.
Ahadīs, 32, 33, 34, 60.
Ahmadābād, letters from and references to, *passim*; Governor of, *see* Nāhir Khān *and* Saīf Khān; Dīwān of, *see* Jahān, Khwāja *and* Makkī, Mīrzā; debts at, 150, 155, 215, 221, 232, 235, 270, 299, 360; factors at, *see* Fremlen, Mountney, *and* Wyche; complaint against, 213; their salaries, 314; factory accounts, 306; trade at, *passim*; caravans from, 244 (2), 245, 246, 249, 269, 274; dissolution of the factory at, xvii, 150; new investments at, 155, 326; minting of coins at, 232; currency at, xxx, 235, 238, 241; gunpowder from, 309; extortions on Shāh Jahān's behalf at, xxv, 191, 206; inventory of household utensils at, 360; Dutch at, 90, 111, 189, 215, 222, 231, 326.
Ahmadnagar. *See* Dābhol, Deccan, *and* Nīzam Shāh.
Ajmer, 308, 327.
'Albertine,' 156, 235.
Aldworth, Thomas, 244, 314, 345.
Aleppo, 107.
Alī. *See* Basrā, Pāshā of.
Alī Hasan, 30.
Alī Mashadī, 30.
Alī Qulī Mahmūd, 30.
Alī Qulī Sadr, 30.
Alī Razzāq, 171.
Al Katīf, pearl fisheries near, 84, 324.
'Allejas,' 337, 350.
Almonds, 164, 237.
Aloes, 63. *See also* Socotra.
Altham, Captain, 252.
Alum, 97, 118, 128, 131, 148, 180, 343; China, 181.
Amber, xxxv, 196; beads, 64, 157, 175, 196, 299, 326, 334.

Ambergris, 93.
Amboyna, 181; massacre of, 11, 97 *n.*, 118, 227; Dutch Governor of, *see* Van Speult.
Amīr (pl. *Umarā*), xxx, 228, 232, 234, 241, 247, 271.
Amīr Murād. *See* Murād, Amīr.
Amīr-ul-Bahr, 348.
Andrews, Peter, his accounts of the *Mary's* voyages, 186, 219, 268; becomes master of the *Hart*, 268; and of the *Hopewell*, 232; his account of the *Hart's* voyage from Surat to Gombroon and back, 313; and to England, 331.
Anjidīv, Hall's fleet visits, 259-68.
Ankleswar, 28, 272 *n.*
Anne, the, xvi, xxxiv, 23, 35 (2), 72, 97, 136, 137; master of, *see* Goodall *and* Man; sails for England from Batavia, 6, 11; voyages in search of, *see* the *Eagle*, the *Scout*, *and* the *Jonas*; at the Comoro Islands, 35, 41; at Mokha, 75, 82, 88, 347-9; arrives at Swally, 73, 99; refits there, 98; consultation aboard, 101; voyage to Persia, 100, 103, 105, 107, 108 (2), 115; returns to Swally, 116, 117; voyage to Batavia, 123, 125, 126; broken up there, 139, 160.
Antelopes, 210, 327.
Antheunis, Lucas, 280.
Antill, John, 164, 210, 236, 323, 336, 337.
Antri, letter from, 272.
Arabia, Indian trade to, 57, 72; the *Blessing's* voyage to, 58, 61; horses and goats from, 61, 71; weights and measures of, 355. *See also* Burum, Kishin, Makalla, Masīra, Red Sea, *and* Shuhair.
Arabs assist the Portuguese, 84; rebel against the Turks, xxx, 351.
Arakan, 17, 315.
Ardeas. *See* Cotton goods.
Areca nut, 278, 305.
Armagon, 183, 223, 278, 324; letters from, 128, 130, 131, 132, 315, 338, 339, 341, 346; Governor of, xliv, xlv, xlvii, 120, 129, 131, 134, 343; settlement of a factory at, xlii, 117, 120-3, 128, 129, 132-6, 144, 145, 200; factors at, *see* Beverley, Bix, Brewen, Fowkes, Grove, Henley, Johnson (Thomas), *and* Mills; their salaries, 315; housing of factors at, xliv, 129, 131, 134, 135; goods saleable, &c. at, 128, 131, 315, 341-4, 359; state of trade at, xlviii, 130-2, 315, 343 *n.*, 346, 358, 359; paintings and cotton goods from, 129, 146, 342, 346; currency at, 128; minting of coins at, xliv, xlviii, 128, 129, 135, 136, 200, 343; customs duties at, xliii, 129, 133; threatened attack on, by a rebel chief, 132, 136; ordnance for, xliv, 132; fortification of, xxi, xlv, xlvii, xlviii, 135, 342-4, 359; soldiers for, 145, 147, 359; the removal from Masulipatam to, xlvi, 280-4, 312, 340; negotiations between the Governor of that place and the factors at, xlvii, 316, 318, 339, 341; supplies for, xlv, xlvi, 315, 325, 329, 339; debts at, 346; the *Swallow* at, xlvi-xlviii, 316, 324, 339; the Dutch hinder the negotiations and trade at, xliii, xliv, 121-3, 128, 130, 131, 133-5, 358; and seize native vessels, 123; their exclusion from trade at, xliv; their courtesy to the English at, xlviii, 344, 346; Nāyak of, xliii, 117, 120-3, 128, 131, 132 (2); presents for, xliii, xlv, 123, 128, 133, 134, 146, 147; his army, 133; presents the factors with a horse, 134; and grants them privileges, xlviii, 342; threatened with the loss of his country, xlvii-xlviii, 343, 346, 347.
Armenians, 63, 89, 321.
Armugam Mudaliar. *See* Armagon, Governor of.
Arrack, 26, 183, 251, 297, 328.
Arz, 32.
Asab, 70, 76.
Āsaf Khān, xiii, 95, 102, 130, 151, 172, 173, 180 *n.*, 189 *n.*, 242, 247, 271, 327; purchases from the English, 33, 62, 94, 151, 170, 173, 174; assists the factors, 59, 271; his debts, 153; present for, 93; his illness, 113; and Shāh Jahān's rebellion, 151; imprisoned by Mahābat Khān, xix, 152; and the succession, xvii-xix, xxiv, 206, 232, 233; and the murder of Shāh Jahān's rivals, 240-2.
Aslū, 84.
Atkins, William, 289.
Auditors, the Company's, Wylde's answers to criticisms by, 213, 215.
Aurangzīb, 247.
Austin, Edward, his accounts of the *Hart's* voyages, 185, 187, 267; and of the *Mary's* voyage to Bantam, 299.

Bacon, Captain, 161.
Baftas. *See* Cotton goods.
Bagdad, 37, 237.
Bāglān, 176 *n.*
Bahar, 102, 348; weight of, 12.
Bahrain, pearl fisheries off, 84.
Bahrawar, Mīrzā, 171 *n.*
Bakhshī, 232.
'Balass rubies.' *See* Rubies.
Ball, Alexander, 289 *n.*, 302, 303 *n.*
Balochī, 162.
Balor, 176.
'Baluchus.' *See* Cotton goods.
Ban-chod, 345.

Banda, 181.
Bandar, 323.
Bandar Abbāsī. *See* Gombroon.
Bangham, Edward, 94, 95; at Batavia, 127.
Bangham, John, xiii, xvii, 42 *n.*, 272, 273; letters to, *passim*; letters from, 78, 87 (3), 89, 90, 94, 95, 96 (2), 189, 228, 234, 239, 246, 270; his salary, 1, 87 (2), 89, 94, 114; complaints by and against, 113, 114, 138, 139, 162, 167, 175, 213; his private trade, 86, 87, 113, 149, 167, 168; acts as Agent for other factors, 74 (2), 79, 96, 116, 127 (2), 129, 130, 138, 139, 142, 162, 167, 169; his dissensions with Goodwin, 113; his accounts, 171, 247, 271, 311; imprisoned at Surat, 19; goes to Cambay, 73, 78, 86, 87, 95; Agent at Court, 74, *et seq.*; returns from Court, xxiii, 170, 174; at Surat, 78, 288; at Broach, 79; goes to Ahmadābād, 79, 86; at 'Cally Tullawry', 89; at Dundara, 90; goes to Agra, xxiv, 89, 127, 162, 167, 183, 189, 196, 228, 234, 239, 246, 270; imprisoned there, xxx, 270; his return to England, 285, 311.
Bangham, Nicholas, 1, 94, 142; letter to, 95.
Bangham, William, letter from, 288.
Banjārā, 187 *n.*, 270.
'Bankshall,' 318.
Bantam, 1, 9 *n.*, 11; removal of the factory from Batavia to, xxxix, 11, 26, 27, 212, 214, 223, 290, 308, 331; letters from, 278, 290, 357; letters to, 250, 274, 275, 276, 290, 299, 315, 323, 328, 338, 339, 341, 346; President at, *see* Bix *and* Muschamp; factors at, *see* Hoare, Steel, *and* Vernworthy; factors sail from Surat for, 285; pepper from, 227, 305, 327, 330; Indian trade to, 292, 329; supplies for and from, and interchange of commodities with Surat, *see* Surat; dispatch of ships to England from, 290; English ships at, xlviii, 278, 290, 299, 305, 327, 357; King of, 327.
Banyans, 54, 70 (2), 73, 163, 191, 246, 255, 292.
Bāqīr, Mīrzā, 249.
Barā saudāgar, 150.
Barber, Richard, 142, 167, 277, 310; letters from, 231, 238, 239, 247, 273; at Baroda, 209, 231; his salary, 315; to go to Broach, 335.
Bardoli, 176.
Barker, Thomas, 43, 44, 45, 80, 81; letters from, 21, 55, 115, 139; letter to, 96; in Persia, 21, 42 *n.*; becomes Agent there, 78; his private trade, 55, 96, 138, 273; death of, 209.
Barker, William, 288.
Barkhurdār Khān Ālam, Mīrzā, Governor of Bihār, 241.
Barlow, Richard, 225, 293, 344.
Barlow, Robert, 2 *n.*
Barnes, John, 260.
Baroda, letters from, 231, 238, 239, 247, 273; baftas from, 274; factors at, *see* Barber *and* Southaike; salaries of factors at, 315; customs duties at, 28; investment at, 79, 231, 239, 247, 335; caravan from, 273, 274; factory accounts, 306, 327; factory to be continued at, 326; factors on bad terms with the natives at, 345.
Barricada, 49.
Basavanna, 132.
'Base,' 142.
Basrā, 84; besieged by Persians, x, 42 (2); troops for, 237; English and Dutch refuse to assist against, x, 43; Portuguese at, 22; Alī, Pāshā of, 22; complains of English and Dutch assistance given to Persians, xxxi, 324, 326.
Bassein, Portuguese fleet off, xiv, 91 (2), 100, 103; shipbuilding at, 198; Shāh Jahān's designs on, 329 *n.*
Batavia (*or* Jakatra), references to, *passim*; letters from, 2, 3, 4, 7 (2), 10, 11, 12, 25, 26, 27, 97, 118, 136, 144, 145, 148 (3), 180, 182; letters to, 115, 128, 132, 136, 222; Presidents at, *see* Brockedon *and* Hawley (Henry); factors at, *see* Bix, Cockram, Hawley (Gabriel), Muschamp, *and* Steel; consultations at, 2, 4; commission for a voyage to the Coromandel Coast, 8; English ships at, *passim*; arrival of ships from England at, 11, 26, 118, 144; dispatch of ships to England from, 6, 11, 41, 290; supplies from and for, and interchange of commodities with Surat, *see* Surat; want of supplies at, 26, 27, 145; goods in demand at, 148; slaves for, 83, 165, 224; pepper from, 35, 212; cloves from, 150, 209, 223; merchants wanted at, 118; brass guns required for, 27; Indian trade to, 212, 316; purchase of a house from the Dutch at, 112; the Dutch assist the English factors from Lagundy (*q.v.*), 114; Dutch ships at, *passim*; English troubles with the Dutch at, xxxviii, 222, 308; removal of the English factory from, *see* Bantam.
Bateman, Robert, 310.
Batta, 234, 239.
Baynham, Edward, 103.
Beads, 74; cornelian, 209. *See also* Amber *and* Coral.
Beale, Thomas, at Mokha, 349; death of, 193, 291, 305, 352, 353.

Bearden, Philip, 120.
Becker, Albert, Dutch commander in the Persian Gulf, 46, 80; killed in the encounter with the Portuguese, x, 47, 50, 53, 78, 81, 85.
Bedford, George, 236.
Beer, the. *See Engelsche Beer*.
Begum, the. *See* Nūr Mahal.
Bejarone, Bay of. *See* Vingeron.
Bell, Peter, 24 *n.*, 76; letter to, 139.
Bell, William, death of, 78.
Bengal, silk from, 25; English granted freedom of trade in, 27; Shāh Jahān in, 151.
Benthall, John, 161, 236, 238; letters from, 21, 101 (2), 116, 236; letters to, 96, 165; in Persia, 21, 42 *n.*; his private trade, 74, 96, 114, 116, 129, 130, 139; his salary, 165; leaves Persia, 244; sails for England, 277, 295.
Berbera, 213.
Bernadine, Villentin, 127.
Berriman, John, 24, 45; letters from, 101, 319; in Persia, 101; his salary, 163.
Best, Nathaniel, master of the *Scout*, 288, 305, 353.
Betel-nut, 262, 305, 326.
'Bethills,' 62, 93; from Masulipatam, 6, 284.
Betī-chod, 345.
Beverley, John, 117; letter from, 128; at Armagon, 128, 132.
Bhadwar, 176.
Bhairām Shāh, 176.
Bhilāpur, 230.
Bhīmjī, 239, 247, 271.
Biadrue, 212.
Biāna indigo, xxxv, 38, 93, 94, 246; price of, 63, 208, 335.
Bickley, Captain John (of the *Hart*), 16, 65, 355 *n.*; letter from, 17; his voyage to the Coromandel Coast, 10, 13.
Biddulph, Simon, 285.
Bihār, Governor of. *See* Barkhurdār.
Bījāpur, diamond mine in, 211; pepper, &c., from, 254, 258, 275; attempt to establish English trade in, 255–9, 274, 275; conditions demanded, 257 *n.*, 275; Nizām Shāh's designs on, 193; native trade to the Red Sea from, 258; Portuguese in, 259; King of (*see also* Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh *and* Mahmūd Ādil Shāh), 252. *See also* 'Congra,' *&c.*
Billings, Richard, 1.
Bix, Nicholas, xxxix, 146; letters from, 338, 341, 346; at Armagon, xlvii, 338; his private trade, 148; his salary, 315.
Bix, Richard, President at Bantam, 278; letters from, 182, 278, 290; at Batavia, 182.
Blackden, Crispin, 112, 127, 162, 211, 243, 314.
Blessing, the, v–ix, xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, 57, 60, 85, 114, 168, 219, 250, 251, 287, 290, 293, 320; master of, *see* Slade; armament of, 32; consultations aboard, 197, 300; at Swally, 19, 24, 31, 34, 35 (2), 39, 40 (2), 50, 51, 58; voyage to the Arabian coast, viii, 58, 61; her encounter with Portuguese vessels, 61; and the seizure of native shipping, 59, 66; voyage to Persia, 21, 22; designed for England, 32, 37, 55, 66; again at Swally, 61, 65, 79, 80; sails for England, vii, 88; voyage to India, xix, 140, 141, 154; at the attack on Bombay, 142–4; second voyage to Persia, xxi, xxii, 164–7; voyage from Swally to Batavia and back, xxii, 177–9, 181; returns to Swally, 185, 187, 215; second voyage to Batavia, xxvi, 215–17, 223; at Bantam, 278; to go again to England, 227, 285, 291, 303; returns to Swally, 263–9, 285, 305; voyage to England, 312, 314, 324, 329, 333.
Blewe, John, 314.
Bloodstones, 62, 93, 327.
Blyth, Captain Richard, 26, 100; voyage of his fleet to India, 103, 154; encounter with the Portuguese, xv–xvi, 101, 102, 105, 107, 114, 115, 137, 139, 140; voyage to Persia, xxii, 164; complaint against, 115, 236.
Bombay, key to map of, xx *n.*; accounts of the attack on, xx, 142–4, 155, 216, 217; proposed Anglo-Dutch occupation of, xxi, 159; suggested English settlement at, xxi, xxvi, 197; descriptions of, 197–200, 217, 219, 220, 243; salt manufacture at, 219; Portuguese ships off, xvi, 99, 111, 112, 123, 137; vessels wrecked near, xiv, 99; Portuguese and the fortification of, xxi; their plot to decoy the English to, xxvii, 249, 262.
Bombay Rock. *See* Mombarrique.
Bommel, the, 182, 275, 353.
Boothby, Richard, letters from, 290, 299, 323, 325, 328, 344; at Surat, 285, 299, 303, 310; his salary, 314; to go to Baroda, 327, 335; he complains of his removal, 328, 340; accusations against, xxxii, 340; his reply, 344–5.
Borges, Francisco, 50 *n.*, 86.
Borneo, gold from, 181.
Botelho, Jeronimo, 50 *n.*
Botelho, Nuno Alvarez, xiv, 99, 298; Portuguese Admiral in the Persian Gulf, x, 50, 86; wounded in the fights with the Anglo-Dutch fleet, 50 *n.*; his challenge to the Anglo-Dutch fleet at Surat, xiv, 104, 139; acts as Viceroy of Goa, xxxiv; death of, xx *n.*

Brahman, 121–3, 128, 133.
'Braules' (piece goods). *See* Cotton goods.
Bread, complaint as to quality of, 83.
Brethers, Thomas, 24.
Brewen, George, xlvii, 280, 341, 346; letters from, 315, 339; letters to, 148 (3); his salary, 315; to be chief at Tanjūr, 4, 9; returns to Batavia, 18; goes to Masulipatam, xlv, xlvi, 146, 148; at Armagon, 315; at Masulipatam, 316; returns to Bantam, xlvii, 341; acts as Agent for various factors, 148.
Brimstone, 128, 180, 181, 343, 344.
Brinco, 130.
Broach, letters from, 190, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 238, 244 (2), 245, 248, 249, 269, 272, 274; letters to, 79; Governor of, *see* Yaqūb Khān; broker at, *see* Pangue; factors at, *see* Martin, Shuker, *and* West; salaries of factors at, 315; factory accounts, 306, 327; the English granted freedom of trade at, 27; customs duties at, 28, 32, 272, 274; custom-house at, 249; extortions from the factors at, 190, 191; dissolution of the factory, 190, 191; state of trade at, 230, 231, 234, 244; decision to re-establish the factory at, 326; new investment at, 335; baftas from, 224, 230, 231, 234; calicoes from, 62, 227; Dutch at, 191, 230. *See also* Gelijnsz.
Broadcloth, 102, 180, 325, 357; trade in, xxxv, 61, 63, 150, 151, 156, 172, 196, 228, 350; price of, 335. *See also* Stammell.
Brockedon, Thomas, President at Batavia, 4; letters from, 4, 7 (2), 10, 11, 12, 25, 26, 27.
Brothers Island, 70.
Brown, Captain Christopher (of the *William*), xx, 18, 154, 186, 249; letters from, 6, 244 (2), 245, 247, 248 (2), 249, 269, 274, 276 (5); at consultations, 32 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 168; instructed to seize native vessels, 21; complaint against, 295, 320; voyage to Persia, xxii, 164; and to England, 277.
Browne, Roger, 75.
'Bulgar' hides, 175.
Bull, the, xxxiv, 11, 118.
Burhānpur, xiii, xvii, 78, 162, 241; trade at, 150; death of Parwīz at, xix, 153.
Burt, William, 162, 168; letters from, 150, 168, 236, 288, 319; at Surat, 150; sails for Persia as Agent, xxii, 164, 165; in Persia, 236, 288, 319; accusations against, 321, 325, 327, 336–8.
Burum, the *Scout* at, 70–2.
Butler, Kenelm, 67.
Butter, 10 (2), 12, 48, 316, 329; packing of, 13; English, 344.
'Byrams.' *See* Cotton goods.

'Caddees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Cadjan, 143.
Caffila (coin), 71, 355. *See also* Caphila.
'Cainegoulons.' *See* Cotton goods.
Cairo, trade between Mokha and, 349, 350, 352.
Cairo (coir), 13, 104, 147.
Calfe, John, 314.
Calheta, 259.
Calicoes. *See* Cotton goods.
Calico Lawns. *See* Bethills.
Calicut, 75.
Calitore (*or* Kistnapatam), 338.
'Cally Tullawry,' 89, 90.
Cambay, English granted freedom of trade in, 27; factors go to, 230 (2), 231, 233; junk of, 72; Portuguese shipping to and from, 179; Governor of, *see* Mīr Mūsā.
Camels, *passim.*
Camlets, 22, 349, 350.
Camphor, 26.
Candy (weight), 123, 245, 258, 318, 346.
'Cannacanee' Islands, 70.
Cannanore, King of, invites English trade, 261.
'Cannikins.' *See* Cotton goods.
'Can°,' letter from, 183.
Cape of Good Hope, 23, 24, 41; English ships at, 35 (2), 114, 150, 203. *See also* Table Bay.
Caphila (*qāfila*), references to, *passim*; term explained, 28; robbery of, 90, 192, 194, 210; *de Calheta*, 259.
Cardamomum seeds, 262.
Carpenters, ships', 27; want of, in India, 85.
Carpets, 79, 93, 138, 209. *See also* Persia.
Caro, 131.
'Carrera,' 342.
Carter, John, 24 *n.*, 76, 78 *n.*, 290, 340, 344.
Cartwright, John, 4, 9, 196.
Cartwright, Ralph, 170, 210, 327, 330; letters from, 189, 228, 234, 239, 246, 270, 271; at Agra, xxx, 189; his salary, 228, 314.
'Carvell,' 214.
'Casanna.' *See Khazāna.*
'Cassadees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Catamaran, 284.
Cavalleiro, 232.
Cavidall, 22, 155, 200, 225, 294.
'Cettora,' 253.
Chamberlain, Richard, 209, 292.
Chandragiri Rājā ('King of the Gentewes'), xlviii, 346.
Chapman, Edward, 315.

Charles, Prince (afterwards King), xxii, 26, 85.
Charles, Cuthbert, 314.
Charles, the, 26; master of, *see* Swan *and* Weddell; at Batavia, 25, 26, 27; voyage to India, xxxiii, 355–7; and from Surat to Gombroon and back, xxxiv, 361, 362.
Charles Islands. *See* Lagundy.
Chaukīdār, 32.
Chaul, 31; capture of vessels from, 36, 39, 58, 60, 105; restitution of, vii, 66, 67, 102; restrictions on native trade from, 3; plans for seizure of shipping from, 20, 75; junks of, at Shuhair, 71; Portuguese ships off, 166; and wrecked near, 104.
Chau tankī, 149 *n.*
Chawders, 350.
'Checkeen.' *See* Sequin.
'Chelas.' *See* Cotton goods.
Cheshire, James, 261.
Chester, John, 67.
Chhāp, xlviii, 32, 190, 202.
Chhappar, 240.
Chilambaram, temple at, 14 *n.*
China alum, 181; cloth of gold, 74, 130; damasks, 130; roots, 181.
Chinese at war with the Dutch, 11; junks at Batavia, 178.
'Chints.' *See* Cotton goods.
Chitthī, 191.
Christiaenshaven, the (Danish ship), 136 *n.*
Christopher, the, xx, xxx, 287, 290, 303, 305, 327, 330, 359; voyage to India, 125, 126, 143, 144, 150, 155; dispatched to Batavia, 178, 180, 216; at Bantam, 278; returns to Swally, 262–9, 285; voyage to Persia, 285, 301, 312–14; and to Bantam, xxxii, 293, 304, 323, 331–4, 357.
'Chuckree,' 93.
Chunām (plaster of Paris), 10, 83.
Chungam (junkan), 131, 318.
Churl, 94, 111.
Cinnamon, the, 278.
Clark, Charles, 225, 276.
Clement, Gregory, xxx, 114, 124, 125, 144, 160, 162, 196, 247, 299, 310; letters from, 89, 183, 189, 228, 234, 239, 246, 270, 271; history of, xxiii *n.*; sails for India, 24 *n.*; his salary, 314; his private trade, 79, 145, 211; supersedes Offley at Agra, xxiii, xxiv, 170, 228; imprisoned there, xxx, 270.
Clevenger, Captain (of the *Jonas*), xi, 24 *n.*, 44, 73, 75, 291; at Mokha, 347–9; imprisoned there, 102, 348; at consultations aboard ship, 32 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 68, 96, 98, 101, 111; his voyages to Batavia, 76; to succour the *Anne* at Mokha, 76; to assist the ships from England, 97; to Persia, 105; and to England, 123.
Clitherow, Robert, xxx, 74, 112, 113, 162, 183, 196; letters from, 228, 234, 239, 246, 272, 273; his accusations against Goodwin, 130; at Agra, 228; complaints against, 271; his return to England, 285, 311.
Coaster, the, 290; arrives at Batavia from England, 11; sails for Jambi, 11.
Cochin, capture of a junk of, 77, 78, 83; Hall's fleet visits, xxviii, 261, 268; description of, 261; Portuguese at, 325; Bishop of, xxxiv, 311 *n.*
Cockram, Joseph, and the attempt to settle a factory at Tanjūr, xl, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18.
Coco-nut, the, 265, 278, 285, 290, 305; renamed the *Little James* (*q.v.*), 293.
Coco-nut fibre (coir). *See Cairo.*
Coco-nuts, 31, 61, 262, 305; used for packing quicksilver, 156.
Coen, Jan Pieterszoon, 184, 185.
Coffee, xxxv; price of, 213.
Coins, minting of (*see also* Armagon *and* Surat), xxxv; values of various, 155, 156, 213, 235, 326; importation of, into India, xxxv, 196; calling in of certain, xxx, 241.
Coir. *See Cairo.*
Colbach, James, 145.
Collins, John, 344.
Comb-cases, 79; for presents, 38.
Comorin, Cape, 78, 79.
Comoro Islands (*including* Johanna, Mayotta *and* Mohilla), references to, *passim*; accounts of cruises to, xxvii, 223, 250–69; English ships at, *passim*; King of Mohilla, 104, 184; his vessels exempted from capture, 109; given a ring to seal passes, 104.
Coney (Dassen) Island, 25, 184, 185, 217.
'Congra,' 254, 255, 268.
'Connamotta,' Governor of, 15.
Conserves, 235, 246.
Coolies, 10 (2), 129, 132. *See also* Kolīs.
Cooper, Captain, 19.
Cooper, Richard, 244.
Copper, 7 *n.*, 64; from Japan, 181.
Copra, 305.
Coral, xxxv, 55, 57, 97, 102, 118, 147, 156, 212, 258, 344; sale of, 90, 150, 175, 196, 297, 310, 325, 326, 334; beads, 210. *See also* Surat.
Corge, 92.
Coromandel Coast, dispatch of ships for, 11, 13, 18, 41, 290; goods from: decline in value of, 6; complaint as to condition of, 12; withdrawal of English trade from, 280; Dutch trade on, 18,

67, 346, 358; their troubles with the natives, 67; Danes trade on, 342; they claim monopoly of trade on, 14. *See also* Armagon, Kārikāl, Masulipatam, Negapatam, Pulicat, Tanjūr, Tegnapatam, Tranquebar, &c.
'Corrado' (*or* 'Caradoe'), Dominico, 236, 319.
Cotton, Sir Dodmore, xxii–xxiii *n.*, xxxi, 187, 207, 216, 225, 237.
Cotton goods *and* calicoes, trade in *and* references to, *passim*; 'ardeas,' 11; baftas, 11, 62, 180, 224, 230, 231, 234, 274; purchase of, 92, 209, 241; 'balachus,' 10; 'braules,' 11; 'byrams,' 11; 'caddees,' 11; 'caingoulons,' 10, 342; 'cannikins,' 11, 350; 'cassadees,' 11; 'chelas,' 10; 'chints,' 11; dimities, 62, 93; 'dragams,' 10; dutties, 11, 62, 80, 92, 209, 236, 241, 350; 'gageas,' 11; 'gebadees,' 11; 'hussanees,' 11; 'mavies,' 12: 'mussafees,' 11; 'muttfones,' 11; 'nicanees,' 11, 62, 92, 326; 'nuries,' 11, 209; 'patolas,' 11, 326, 330; 'percallas,' 6, 284; perpetuanoes, 156, 180, 325, 335; 'pilgars,' 11; 'quesos,' 93, 326; 'rambuttans,' 10; salampores, 6, 284; 'sallas' ('selas' *or* 'sallowes'), 11, 62; 'samadramoores,' 10; 'semeanes,' 62, 93, 153; 'serassas,' 10, 11; 'seribaffs,' 11, 350; seryas, 62, 92; 'sursalles,' 63; 'tape chindes,' 10, 11, 284; 'tapsiles,' 11, 93; 'trickandees,' 11; 'tureas' (or *doriyās*), 11, 12 *n.*; complaint as to quality of, &c., 62; restrictions on purchase of, 63; for ships' sails, 78, 248; popularity of, in England, xxxvi. *See also* Armagon, Dābhol, Masulipatam, Petapoli, Pondicherri, *and* Tegnapatam.
Cotton wool, 62, 80, 87, 210, 212, 309, 328, 331, 350, 351, 357; price of, 245.
Cotton yarn, xxxvi, 64, 181, 209, 231, 234, 239, 244, 326.
Couch, Leonard, 315.
Couland (*or* Cowlan), Peter, master of the *Eagle*, 265, 302; at consultations aboard ship, 289, 300, 303.
Coulton, John, 327.
Covado, 87, 173, 191, 247, 335, 355.
Cowries, 104.
Crane, Sir Francis, sale of tapestry for, 64, 87 (2), 127, 151, 175, 213, 313.
Cranganore, 166.
Crosby, Henry, xv.
Cuddalore. *See* Tegnapatam.
'Cuddy,' 77.
Cufe, Henry, 344.
'Cullwoll,' 90.
'Cumbarque,' Cape, 49, 166.
Currants, 48.
Customs duties (including caravan tolls) in India, viii, xl, xliii, 15, 19, 28, 32, 37, 59, 129, 133, 175, 179, 192, 230, 272, 273, 274, 282, 283, 307, 318; in Persia, 21, 22, 37, 42, 44, 88, 161, 165, 182, 188, 309, 319, 321, 322, 323, 325; at Mokha, 354; defrauding of, 236, 321; punishment for, 163, 165; farming of, at Surat, 195.

Da Gama, Dom Francisco, 311 *n.*
Dabbah, 13.
Dābhol, 24, 217; Governor of (*see also* Murād Beg) complains against Captain Hall, 31; refuses to allow the English to trade at, 243; pepper from, 62, 64, 214; cotton goods from, 64; restrictions on native trade from, 3; claim against merchants of ('Decannees'), 193; seizure of native shipping from, 20, 75, 105, 116, 302; English ships at, 31, 219, 242, 274; attack on junks at, xxviii, 253, 262, 266–8; act of oblivion demanded for, 257 *n.*; proposed establishment of a factory at, xxvi, 31, 36, 64, 116, 192; trade at, 158; Portuguese prevent English trade at, xxvi, 219, 250.
Daftar, 127.
Dāl, 48 *n.*
Dale, Thomas, 120.
Damān, 23 (2), 69; English ships off, 40, 73, 218, 219; they attempt to capture Portuguese vessels, xxvi, 218, 219; Portuguese fleet off, 73, 99, 155; fight off, 101, 102, 103; shipbuilding at, 85, 198, 218; Shāh Jahān's designs on, xxxii, 328, 330.
Damasks, 74, 128, 130, 134.
Damka, 288.
Danda, 24.
Danda Rājpurī, xxvi, 24, 248, 252 *n.*; Governor of, *see* Habashī Khān; junks of, 192; English ships at, xxvii, 219, 220, 243, 253, 262, 263, 266–8. *See also* Janjīrā.
Danes accused of enticing away English sailors, 16; their ships assist the *Rose*, 136, 145. *See also* Coromandel Coast, Macassar, Masulipatam, Mauritius, *and* Pondicherri.
Dārāb Khān, 95.
Dārā Shikoh, 247.
Darbār, 93, 247.
Darby, John, 31, 51–54, 76, 125; his death, 218.
Dārogha, 28, 29.
Darrell, Henry, 66.
Daskat (*dast-khat*), 32.
Dassen Island, 25, 184, 185, 217.

Dastūrī, 32 *n.*, 33, 92, 221.
Dates, 39, 61, 72.
David, the (Dutch ship), 125, 126, 346.
Davis, David, his accounts of the attack on Bombay, 143, and of the *Discovery's* voyages, 141, 166, 177, 179; transferred to the *Hart*, 180; accounts of her voyages, 187, 262, 312, 332.
Davis, Robert (master of the *Richard*), 36.
Davison, Robert, 288, 314.
Dawā, 233.
Dāwar Bakhsh, Shāhzāda (Sultān Bulāqī), xiii, xvii, 95, 153, 206; proclaimed Emperor, xxiv–xxv, 226; reported to have submitted to Shāh Jahān, 231; rewarded by him, 232; his cause espoused by certain nobles, 232, 233; murder of, xxix, 240, 242.
De Andrade, Ruy Freire, xv, 50, 137, 140, 179, 238; blockades Ormus, ix, 39, 40, 80, 84.
De Coste, Thomas, 243, 254, 255, 258, 268, 303, 320.
De Noronha, Miguel, Conde de Linhares, xxxiv.
De Paiva, Emanuel, 130, 170, 189, 211, 213.
De Paiva, Jeronimo, xxi, 222, 243, 252, 255, 262, 285, 301, 325, 327.
Deccan, the, 262; King of, *see* Nizām Shāh; capture of shipping of, 29, 298; claim for restitution, 102; pepper, &c., from, 90, 94, 157, 158, 212; Shāh Jahān in, xxiv, 151, 161, 171, 204. *See also* Ahmadnagar, Bījāpur, &c.
Dedel, Jacob, 13; death of, 17.
Defence, Treaty of, 6.
Delhi, 90.
Delly, Mount, 125; English ships at, xxviii, 261–8, 331–3.
Denmark, King of, 14.
Desāī, 176.
Devgad River, xxviii, 254.
Dhāita, 176.
Dhanjī, 34, 94, 228, 240.
Dholka dutties, 92, 209, 236.
Diamond, the, 11, 13, 18.
Diamonds, 12, 211; mine in Golconda, *see* Kollūr. *See also* Bījāpur.
Dilāsā, 32 *n.*, 34, 190.
Dimities. *See* Cotton goods.
Discovery, the, xxxv, 11, 168, 179, 181, 185, 187, 295, 346; master of, *see* Vian; sails for Batavia, 64; voyage to India, xix, 140, 141; at the attack on Bombay, 142–4; voyage to Persia and back, xxi, xxii, 164–6; casualties on, 166, 167; voyage to Batavia and back, xxii, 177 (2), 178, 179; and to England, xxvi, 208, 217; second voyage to India, xxxiii, 355–7; and to Persia, xxxiv, 361–2.
Diu, junks of, 69, 71; English and Dutch ships at, 91, 92; Portuguese at, 72; their fleet off, xx, 155; Shāh Jahān's designs on, xxxii, 327, 328, 330.
Diul-Sind, 179; settlement of claim of merchants of, 173; junks of, 54, 71, 72.
Dīwān, 174, 176, 189, 232, 241.
Dod, John, 12 (2).
Dogs, 291, 329; for presents, 34, 327.
Dollar, 22, 71; value of, 62, 156, 213; Lion (of Holland), 155; Rix, Venetian, and Zealand, 156. *See also* Rial of eight.
Dolphin, the, xxxiv, xxxv, 26, 35, 67, 103 *n.*, 139, 168, 181, 251, 295, 308, 346; master of, *see* Wills; consultation aboard, 1; at Swally, 185, 187; voyage to England, v, 6, 55; and to India, xx, 103–5, 140, 143, 154; encounter with the Portuguese, xv, 91, 102, 114, 115, 137, 140, 163; voyage to Persia, xxi, xxii, 164; and to Batavia and back, xxii, 177, 178, 179; second voyage to England, xxvi, 169, 208, 217.
'Dongee.' *See* Dhanjī.
Dordrecht, the. *See Maagd van Dort.*
Doriyā. *See* Cotton goods.
Dove, the, 217, 218, 290.
Dover, James, 288.
'Dragams.' *See* Cotton goods.
Duā, 32 *n.*, 34.
Duā taslīm, 93.
Dubler, John, 218.
Ducat, Barbary, 156; Hungary, 156, 235.
Duke, Matthew, 12, 360.
Dundara, letter from, 90.
Dunkirkers, 313, 355.
Dunscombe, Clement, 314.
Dury, John, 306.
Dutch, the, references to, *passim*; letter from, 2; letter to, 6; complain against Mills, 5; complaints against, 6, 18, 20, 27, 57, 133, 135, 294, 308; suspected of hostile intentions, 298; at war with the Chinese, 11; depredations in the South Seas, 117; and on Portuguese shipping, 315; carry goods and letters for the English, xlvi, 13, 118, 119, 308, 341; ship goods on English vessels, 73; trade in indigo, 63, 111, 189, 208, 228, 307, 326; and in saltpetre, 90; sail in company with the English, *passim*; to share captures or losses with them, 77, 78; mint coins, 129; a merchant in the service of the Turks, 351, 352. *See also* Batavia, Coromandel Coast, Mokha, Persia, &c.
Dutch East India Company, 2 *n.*; directors of (' Majores '), 99.
Dutties. *See* Cotton-goods.

Dyott, Simon, 146.

Eagle, the, 23 (2), 35 (2), 40, 54, 61, 68, 75, 330; master of, *see* Couland, Johnson, *and* Man; appointments to, 24; her voyage to India, 23; in search of the *Anne*, ix, 31, 61, 79; and to Persia and back, 40, 53, 54, 85; captures Portuguese and native vessels, 24, 31, 39 (2), 50, 61, 79; designed for England, 38; in the encounters with the Portuguese, xi, 47-54, 81; casualties on, 50, 53, 85; her armament, 50; supplies for, 68; voyage to Achin and Batavia, xii, 65, 68, 76, 77 (2), 82, 119, 178, 216; sails for England, 290; abandons her homeward voyage, xxix, 263-9, 291; to go again to Persia and Bantam, 285, 291, 293, 302, 304; voyage to Persia, 312-4; and to Bantam, xxxii, 323, 331-4, 357.
Eaglesfield, Samuel, 287, 315.
East India Company, references and letters to, *passim*; and the suppression of private trade (*q.v.*), xxxvii, 13; and the importation of money into India, 196; advised to separate from the Dutch, 212, 223; new subscriptions, xxxiii.
Eaton, William, 97, 98, 106, 111, 124.
Ebony wood, 31, 38, 68, 69.
Eduardo, Signor, 170.
Eendracht, the, 109.
Elephants, 133, 134.
Elephants' teeth (Ivory), xxxv, 156, 196, 326; sale of, 63, 175.
Elizabeth, the, 6, 11.
Elliott, Peter, 298; letter from, 274.
Ellis, Captain, 332, 333.
Emeralds, trade in, 33, 73, 79, 87 (2), 95, 127, 175, 196, 247, 271; value of, 89.
Enamel, 113, 130.
Engano, 177, 178, 299.
Engelsche Beer, the, 91, 109, 168, 350 *n.*
Escritoire, 134, 361.
Escrivão, 121, 133.
Evans, Andrew (master of (i) the *Scout*, (ii) the *Hart*), 24 *n.*, 44, 69, 76, 184, 258, 302, 337; letter from, 274; instructions for various voyages, 69, 97, 109; at consultations aboard ship, 101, 287, 289, 300, 303; his death, 332, 333.
'Ewall' (*or* 'Ewe'), 125, 126.
Exchange, the, xxviii, xxxv, 178, 182, 185, 245, 248, 262, 287, 290, 296, 304, 320, 353; captain of, *see* Morton; sails for England, 6, 11; outward voyage to Batavia, 125, 126, 144, 150, 155; at Batavia, 178; voyage to Surat, xxii, 178, 179, 216; and to Persia, xxiii, 179, 186, 187, 216, 220; designed for England, 227, 285, 291, 303; at Swally, 263-9, 285; voyage to the Red Sea, xxx, 249, 250, 275; visits Aden, xxx, 278, 279, 288, 292, 305, 354; consultation aboard, 289; second voyage to England, 312-4, 324, 329, 333.
Exchange, rate of, 270, 273.
Expedition, the, xxxv, 224, 251, 293 (2), 295, 299, 304; master of, *see* Watts; voyage to India, 284; at Swally, xxix, 263-9; to go to Persia, 285, 302; account of the voyage, 312-4; voyage to England, xxxi, 324, 331-4.

Factors, want of, in India, 38, 39, 65, 160, 161, 210; salaries of, 63, 314; allowance for homeward voyage of, 73; complaint as to their salaries, &c., 308.
Facy, John, letter from, 1.
Fadle, John, 344.
'Falcon,' 143.
Falcon, the, xvi, 136, 137; master of, *see* Pinder, Price, *and* Wills; voyage to India, xv, 103-8; captures a junk, 104, 111, 114; voyage to Persia and back, 106-9, 111, 112, 114, 116, 117, 155; and to Masulipatam, xlv, 123-6; at Masulipatam, 136; at Batavia, 144, 145, 178, 216.
Fall, William, 278 *n.*, 291, 304, 311, 326, 349.
Fals (pl. *fulūs*), 71.
Fanams, 128, 129, 135.
Fānūs, 361.
Farhat Khāni, 63.
Farīdābād, letter from, 177.
Farmān, *passim*; term explained, 32 *n.*
Fārsala, 355.
Faryād, 33.
Fath, the, Shāh Jahān's junk, 301, 309.
Fiorino, Sebastiano, 170, 220, 223.
Fireships, 49, 82, 162; used against the Portuguese, xi, 48, 51-4, 81.
Fisher, Lawrence, 178 *n.*, 225.
Floris, Pieter W., 280.
Fort St. David. *See* Tegnapatam.
Fortune, the, xlvii, 316.
Fowkes, Arthur, 146, 315, 317, 318; letter from, 339.
Fox, Robert, his accounts of the voyages of the *Royal James*, 23, 39, 55, 77, 91, 107, 116, 125.
Fremlen, William, letters from, 229, 231, 235, 241, 242, 244, 245, 270, 273, 275; at Broach, 229; at Ahmadābād, 231; his salary, 314, 327.
Friday, Rev. Thomas, letter from, 139.
Friesland, the, 17.
Frobisher, Mrs., 9.
Fursland, Richard, death of, 11.
Futter, Francis, xli, 5, 12.

'Gageas.' *See* Cotton goods.
Gallias, the (Dutch ship), 346.
Galls, 322.
Gandevī, 23, 100, 248; dutties, 209.
Garlick, Richard, 302.
Garshāsp, murder of, xxix, 240, 242.
'Gebadees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Gelijnsz., Wollebrant, 191.
Gelly, David, 65, 69 (2), 106, 107; at Shuhair, 70; his journey overland from Burum to Mokha, 70, 71.
'Geru' (red earth), 188, 237, 244, 302, 320.
Ghutdrin Islets, 70.
Gibson, William, 79, 210; goes to England, 66; returns to India, 142; letters from, 182, 319; sails for Persia, 164; at Gombroon, 182.
Gingeli, 315, 316.
Ginger, 93, 230, 258, 260, 326.
Glanvill, John, imprisoned at Surat, 19; and the seizure of native shipping, &c., 20, 21; his return to England, 211.
Glascock, Henry, 310, 314.
Globe, the, xxxiv.
Goa, Portuguese at, 9; their fleet there, 31, 79, 87, 88, 298, 320; shipbuilding at, 260; capture of a Portuguese ship of, 31; Viceroy of (*see also* Da Gama, De Noronha, *and* Mascarenos), xxi, xxxiv, 50, 306, 311, 320, 329; his threat to ruin the English and Dutch trade, 303, 312; English ships off, xxviii, 177, 259–68; description of, 259.
Goats, 71.
Goche, Dr. Henry, 323, 327, 337.
Goede Fortuin, the, xx, 91, 109, 150, 350 *n.*
Goerie (*or* Gorie), Adriaan Willems, 13.
Goghā, 27.
Golconda, xli, xlvii, 5, 6, 317; diamond mine in, *see* Kollūr; King of, 339; his claim against the English, 66, 67.
Gold, trade in, 131, 148, 221, 230, 231, 242, 295, 296, 326, 343; importation of, into India, 155, 213, 334, 346; desired in place of rials, 66, 128, 129, 147, 162, 180; chain of, 315, 342. *See also* Borneo, Java, Pegu, *and* Sumatra.
Gold, cloth of, xxxv, 38, 63, 224; price of, 235; from China, 74, 130.
Gold lace, 171, 172, 241; sale of, 64, 173.
Gold thread, 315, 342.
Gombroon, references to, *passim*; letters from, 55, 101 (2), 115, 116, 182, 236, 319; Governor of, *see* Sandūk Sultān; to be the chief port in Persia, 42; castle at, 22, 85; Indian trade with, 35, 48, 53, 258, 300; factors at, *see* Persia, factors in; English and Dutch ships at, *passim*; English trade welcomed at, 83, 84; state of trade at, 21; Indian writer for, 163; custom-house at, 322; customs at, 88, 165, 321; moiety of, for the English, 21, 42, 161, 302, 321, 322; consignment of goods from Surat for sale at, xxxi, 301, 309, 310, 320; Anglo-Dutch fleet: declines to remain at, xii, 45; returns to, 48, 52, 81, 86; and leaves for Swally, xii, 52, 53, 54, 55, 78, 86, 116; former Portuguese fort at, 22; their fleet off, 108, 182, 187, 188.
Goning, John, diary of, 18, 41.
Goodall, Captain Bartholomew (master of (i) the *Anne* (ii) the *Hart*), 123; at consultations aboard ship, 96, 98, 111; his instructions for various voyages, 97, 105; at Mokha, 102, 347; death of, 184.
Goodwin, John, 113, 183, 272; letters from, 189, 228, 234, 239, 246, 273; goes to Lahore, 90, 95; at Agra, xxiv, 189, 196; acts as agent for certain factors, 74, 130, 142, 162, 170; complaint against, 94, 130, 162; his dissensions with Bangham, 113.
Gore, Sir John, 210, 326.
Gouda, the, 26 *n.*
Goude Leeuw, the, 73, 99, 109, 161, 350 *n.*
'Gouncore,' 254, 255, 268.
Grand Signor, the, x, 43, 63, 158, 159, 193, 353.
'Gravances,' 329.
Graves, Henry, 241, 314.
Greyhounds, 291, 327, 329.
Griffin, Robert, 104.
Groot Mauritius, the, 182 *n.*
Grove, Thomas, 146, 289, 360.
Gujarāt, Viceroy of, *see* Nāhir Khān *and* Saif Khān; junks of: designs on, 20, 21, 59; capture of, 55; English claims against natives of, 30; Dutch ships convoy junks of, 48, 53; merchants of: ship goods on English vessels, 55; trade to Achin, 224; Shāh Jahān's designs on, 78, 153.
Gul-dār, 63.
Guldene Zeepaard, the, 182 *n.*
'Gundeven,' letter from, 140.
Gunny, 25, 319.
Gunpowder, 118, 307; English, 47; native, 47, 73, 81, 93; complaint as to quality of, 88, 89; superiority of European, 309; price of, 309 *n.*
Gurdās, 86, 87, 114, 190.
Gwalior, 112, 272.

Habashī Khān, 243, 252.
Hair, trade in, 10.
Hājī Abdul-nabī. *See* (*as also in similar cases*) Abdul-nabī, Hājī.

Hājīpur-Patna, 241.
Hakīm Sadrā. *See* (*as also in similar cases*) Sadrā, Hakīm.
Hall, Daniel, his accounts of the voyages of the *Expedition*, 284, 313, 333.
Hall, John (master of the *Mary*), 85, 222, 258; letters from, 6, 190, 242, 245 (3), 247, 248 (3), 274; his fleet, xxii, xxvii, 178, 203, 216, 249, 262, 285, 290; his voyages: to India, xxii, 183, 185, 186; along the coast of India, xxvi, 218–20, 242, 250; to the Comoro Islands, 250–69; and to Bantam, 298, 299; seizure of native vessels by, vii, 21, 58, 253–69; complaint against, 31, 288; at consultations aboard ship, 32 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 287, 289.
Hall, William, 286.
Halliday, Nathaniel, 42 *n.*
Hammon, Gualther, 300.
Harby (*or* Harvey), Job, 97, 147, 297.
Harijī, 90, 94.
Hariprasād, 173.
Hari Vaisya, 30, 300, 306, 320.
Harris, Thomas, letter to, 136.
Harris, Vincent, 161, 308.
Hart, the, xxxiv, xxxv, 9, 10, 16, 38, 40, 287, 322; master of, *see* Andrews, Bickley, Evans, Goodall, *and* Pashley; arrives at Batavia from England, 11; voyage to the Coromandel Coast and back, xl–xli, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10–18, 41, 65; desertion of sailors from, 15; embarks the *Unity's* cargo, 15, 17; voyage from England to India, xxii, 178, 183, 185; to Persia and back, xxiii, 179, 186, 187, 200, 216; and along the coast of India and to the Comoro Islands, 251–69; designed for England, 289, 291, 324; her destination changed to Gombroon, 269, 285, 300, 301, 306; second voyage to Persia, 312–14; voyage to England, xxxi, 331–4.
Hasan Alī, Khwāja, 28.
Hasan, Mīrzā, 176.
Havildār, 254.
Hawley, Gabriel, letter from, 148.
Hawley, Henry, xxxix; letters from, 3, 97, 118, 136, 144, 145, 180; President at Lagundy, 40, 41; and at Batavia, 97, 308; his private trade, 148; sails for England, 290; his death, 291.
Hawley, Robert, xlv, 124 (2), 147, 148, 149; letter to, 145.
Hayward, John, letter from, 21.
Health's Sickness, 297.
Healy, Thomas, 45, 96.
Hector's Island, 77, 78, 216.
Henley, Lawrence, xlvii, 146, 280, 316; letters from, 315, 339, 341, 346; his salary, 315, 344.
Herbert, Thomas, xxiii, 187 *n.*
'Heth-heth,' 112.
Heusden, the (Dutch ship), 2 *n.*, 73, 99, 109, 125, 126.
Heuten, Wouter, 113.
Heynes, Edward, 18, 21, 26 (3), 78; letter from, 6; at consultations aboard the *Royal James*, 34 *n.*, 78 *n.*; at Surat, 68; in charge there, 65; allowance for his homeward voyage, 73; sails for England, 77, 78, 114.
Hides. *See* Bulgar.
Hillion, Peter, 50 *n.*, 98.
Hoare, William, 156; imprisoned at Surat, 19; attends consultations at Surat, 68, 108, and aboard ship, 1, 96, 98, 101, 111; his return to England, 123, 127; at Bantam, 357.
Hodges, John, 66.
Holī festival, 246.
Hollandia, the, 26 *n.*, 117 *n.*, 168, 350 *n.*
Honāwar, xxviii, 260.
Hope, the, xxxiv.
Hopewell, the, xxxv, 293, 299, 303, 304; master of, *see* Andrews *and* Pashley; voyage to India, xxii, 184–6; at Swally, 178, 187; voyages along the coast of India and to the Comoro Islands, xxvi, 218, 250–69; to Persia, 302, 312–14; and to England, xxxi, 324, 331–4.
Hopkinson, Joseph, xvi, 94, 158, 230, 233, 275, 278 *n.*, 299, 303, 304, 309, 326, 350, 354; letters from, 102, 112, 142, 162, 170, 191, 229, 231, 235, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 245, 248, 290, 299; his salary, 1; imprisoned at Surat, 4, 19; at a consultation aboard the *Royal James*, 34 *n.*; his private trade, 113, 114, 129, 130, 139, 142, 162, 170; acts as Agent for various factors, 116, 167: at Surat, 68, 89, 142, 191, 285, 299; to go to Ahmadābād, 79, 86; at Ahmadābād, 96, 102, 112, 162, 195, 231, 235; presented with a horse by Saif Khān, 113, 130; at Broach, 229; extends his period of service, 211; his return to England, 114, 285, 311.
Horses from Persia, 45, 167, 291, 301, 319, 320, 321, 335, 337; from Arabia, 61.
Hoshang, murder of, xxix, 240, 242.
Hudson, Richard, 147, 149, 315–17; to remain at Masulipatam, xlvi, 281; his instructions, 283, 284.
Hughes, John, 238.
Hukely, Richard, 24.
Hull, Basil, 103.
Hunter, John, 13, 277, 360; letter from, 187.
'Hussanees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Hutchinson, Robert, 73, 78 *n.*; sails for England, 77, 78.

Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh, King of Bījāpur, death of, 192.
Imām Qulī Beg, the, 84.
Indigo, references to and investments in, *passim*; price of, 189, 228, 275; export of, xxxv, 307; instructions for, xxxv, 38, 63; Dutch trade in, 63, 111, 189, 208, 228, 307, 326. *See also* Agra, Biāna, *and* Sarkhej.
Indrajī, Nākhudā, 71, 72.
Iron, 7 *n.*, 350, 351; ironware, 64.
Is-haq Beg, 30, 237.
Ispahān, letters from, 21, 139, 288; letters to, 101 (2), 115; factors at, *see* Persia, factors in; state of affairs at, 182; Dutch at, 43, 288; letter from, 2.
Ivory. *See* Elephants' teeth.

Jacobson, Cornelius, 161.
Jādū, 90, 91, 173.
Jādū Rāy, 176.
Jager, the, 338.
Jāgīr, 157 *n.*, 176, 191, 233.
Jahān, Khwāja, 273.
Jahāngīr, xiii, 30, 61, 232; grants the English freedom of trade, 27; presents for, 34, 91; and the complaints of certain Turks, vii, 33, 34, 59; and the English troubles at Surat, viii, 56; purchases from the English, 73, 95; Mahābat Khān and, xvii–xix, 151; Shāh Jahān's rebellion against, xiii, 78, 95, 96, 151–3; in Kashmīr, 78, 95 (2), 204; leaves Kashmīr, 96; throne for, 93; journeys to and from Kābul, xvii, xix, 150, 151; death of, xxiv, 202, 226.
Jaitāpur. *See* Seidepore.
Jajām, 361.
Jakāt, 28.
Jakatra. *See* Batavia.
Jalāluddīn Mahmūd, Khwāja, 30, 212.
Jālor, xxiv, 171.
Jambi, xlviii, 11, 12, 358; letter from, 290; letters to, 7, 136, 139, 278; factors at, *see* Bell, Harris, Staverton, *and* Taylor; dispatch of ships for, 11; English ships at, 290.
Jāmbusar, 230.
James I, King, 38, 85; letter from King of Socotra to, 3; grants judicial powers to the President and Council at Surat, 65; death of, 112.
James, the. *See Lesser James*, *Little James*, *and Royal James*.
James, Giles, 36, 79; letter from, 55; imprisoned at Surat, 4, 19; and the capture of Indian vessels, 20, 21; at consultations aboard ship, 1, 34 *n.*; sails for England, xii, 66, 88.
Jam Qulī Beg, 30, 203, 230.
Janjīrā, Governor of, *see* Sīdī Ambar; English attempt to obtain the castle at, xxvii, xxviii, 243, 252; description of, 252, 253.
Janszoon, Willem, 182, 276.
Japan, silver, 4, 26, 144; brass guns from, 27; *escritoire* from, 134; copper, 181.
Jask, letter from, 112; English ships at, 39, 40, 80, 107, 168, 312, 313; Anglo-Dutch fleet at, 112, 117, 165–8; Portuguese attack on, 40; Governor of, 168.
Jast, 360.
Java (*see also* Bantam, Batavia, *and* Masulipatam), gold from, 181.
Jeronimo, Signor. *See* De Paiva.
Jewels, xxxv, 148, 157, 228, 238, 258, 273; sale of, xiii, 33, 61, 62, 73, 79, 86, 87, 94, 95, 173, 195, 196; unsaleable in India, 303, 310, 327; Portuguese trade in, 86. *See also* Diamonds, Emeralds, *and* Pearls.
Jiddah, 352; Indian trade with, 20, 72, 235.
John, the, 31; used as a fireship, 48, 51, 53, 81.
John, the (a pinnace), 265, 267, 285, 287; sails for Bantam, 265, 298, 299, 307.
Johnson, John (master of the *Eagle*), 24 *n.*, 44, 76; letter from, 85; charges against, xi *n.*, 54, 68, 81; instructions for his voyage to Achin and Batavia, 76; at consultations aboard ship, 78 *n.*, 168.
Johnson, John (formerly in Danish service), 10; and the attempt to settle a factory at Tanjūr, xxxix–xli, 2, 6, 7, 12, 40, 41 (2); death of, 218.
Johnson, Robert, 35; his treachery at Mokha, 347–8; death of, 349.
Johnson, Thomas, 4, 9, 12, 280, 316, 358; letters from, 115, 128, 130, 131, 132, 315, 338; at Masulipatam, 115, 117, 145; and the settlement of a factory at Armagon, 120–3, 132; at Armagon, 128; to be chief there, 134, 135, 146; returns to Bantam, xlvii; his salary, 315.
Jonas, the, ix, xvi, xxxiv, 287, 293 (2), 295, 299, 304, 327; master of, *see* Swanley; voyage to India, 24, 34, 35; and to Persia and back, 45, 55, 67; at Swally, 73, 82; consultations aboard, 43 *n.*, 96, 303; takes part in the encounters with the Portuguese, xi, 46–54; casualties on, 50, 53, 85; her armament, 50; designed for Batavia, xii, 65, 68; dispatched to Mokha to succour the *Anne*, xiii, 75, 76, 77 (2), 82, 88, 347–9; cruise to assist the ships from England, 97; refitting at Swally, 98; designed for England, 101 (2), 103; second voyage to Persia and back, 105, 107, 108 (2), 115, 116, 117; voyage to England, 123,

125, 126, 137, 140, 150; again at Swally, xxix, 263–9, 285, 303; third voyage to Persia, 285, 300, 301, 312–14; voyage to Bantam, xxxii, 323, 329–34, 357; returns to Swally, xxxiii, 356, 357; fourth voyage to Persia and back, xxxiv, 361, 362.
Joyce, Thomas, 125, 311, 314.
Juan de Nova, 104.
Jude, the, 290.
Junkan. *See Chungam.*

Kābul, 151; massacre of troops at, xix, 152.
Kachchā saudāgar, 150.
Kail, 354.
Kajan, xxi *n.*
Kalhāt, 55, 199.
Kāli talao, 89, 90.
Kalsī, 360.
Kameel, the, 339.
Kanāt, 361.
Karan, Rānā of Udaipur, 242.
Karedu, 342 *n.*
Kārikāl, 8 (2), 10; the *Hart's* visit to, 13–18; customs duties demanded at, xl, 15, 19; pepper from, 10; Governor of, xl, 8, 14, 15.
Kashmīr, xiii, 78, 95 (2), 96, 173, 204.
Katorā, 360.
Keightley, Thomas, letter to, 3.
Kennicott, Gabriel, 225, 287, 289, 291, 292, 304.
Kerridge, Thomas, references to, and letters to and from, *passim*; sails for India, 24 *n.*; goes to Persia, ix, 36, 42 *n.*; opposes the proposal to assist the Persians, 80; to go to Surat, 42, 67; President at Surat (*q.v.*), ix, xii, 65, 68, 73, 78; his private trade, 86, 87, 127, 130, 138, 167, 169, 170; takes steps to restrict private trade, 43, 73; at consultations aboard ship, 40 *n.*, 75, 96, 98, 101, 111; extends his period of service, 211; his return to England, xxviii, 249–50, 277, 289, 295; his subsequent career, xxviii *n.*; his popularity at Surat, 325.
Kerseys, 156, 325, 335.
Khairāt Khān, 167, 283, 300, 302, 321.
Khānazād, 242. *See also* Zamān Bahādur.
Khān-i-Azam, 242.
Khān Jahān, 153, 191, 206; espouses the cause of Dāwar Bakhsh, 233; in rebellion against Shāh Jahān, xxv, 240.
Khānkhānān (Mīrzā Khān), the, 95; *see also* Mahābat Khān.
Khārepātān (*or* Viziadrūg), Hall's fleet visits, xxviii, 254–68; description of, 258, 259; suggested settlement at, 275; Governor of, 254, 262.
Khaskhasī, 63.
Khazāna, 33, 149, 221; term explained, 33 *n.*, 149 *n.*
Khichrī, 48.
Khirkā (' Quirka '), 28, 176, 177.
Khor Jarāma (' the London's Hope '), suggested fortification of, xxvii, 159–60, 197, 199, 216.
Khurd Mahmūd, 72, 193, 305, 352, 353; his junk's encounter with the *Scout*, 72.
Khurram, Prince. *See* Shāh Jahān.
Khusrū, Prince, his sons. *See* Dāwar Bakhsh *and* Garshāsp.
Khutba, 233, 240.
Khwāja Murād Beg. *See* (*as also in similar cases*) Murād Beg, Khwāja.
Kifāyat Khān, 232.
King, Richard, death of, 186, 209.
Kirk, Captain, 356, 357.
Kishin, 63.
Kishm, 43, 198; Persian fortifications at, 22; castle at, 45; English and Dutch fleets at, 48; captain of the Persian castle at, 48.
Kistgens, Frederick, 124 *n.*
Kistnapatam, 338 *n.*
Knightley, William, 291, 304, 311; at Surat, 285; account of his experiences at Mokha, &c., 347–55.
Kolīs, the, 90.
Kollūr, diamond mine at, 25, 211.
Kōmatis, 9, 10, 11, 131, 282.
Korī, 247.
Kos, *passim*.
Kottapatnam, xliv *n.*
Kotwāl, 282.
Kūch, 170.
Kudryan (*or* Kudrian), Elias, 225, 276.
Kuh-i-Mubārak, 49 *n.*
Kung, 84.

Lac (gum-lac), 62, 63, 93, 209, 235, 241, 246, 258, 326; *chapra* lac, 230; *ras* lac, 230; shellac, 309; price of, 175, 230, 247; exported to Persia, 301.
Lagundy, 251; consultations at, 40, 41; failure of the settlement at, xxi, xxxviii, 101, 112, 114; the Dutch assist the survivors from, xxxix, 114; their return to Batavia, 118; President at, *see* Hawley; factor at, *see* Goning.
Lahore, xxiv; letter from, 32; letters to, *passim*; factors at, *see* Bangham, Willoughby, *and* Young; factors go to, 90; broker at, *see* Dhanjī; Governor of, 33; calicoes from, 62; carpets from, 93; shellac from, 309; trade at, 63, 96, 151, 311; Armenians at, 63.
Lancaster, Richard, 21, 79; letters from, 6, 55; goes to England, 66.

Langford, Richard, 34, 288.
Langford, William, 309; instructions for his voyage to the Coromandel Coast, 8.
Larak, Portuguese fleet at, xii, 46, 48, 52, 54, 81, 84, 86; pearl fishing off, 84; Portuguese fort at, 84.
Lārībandar. *See* Diul-Sind.
Lārīs, 74, 254, 258, 275, 322.
Lashkar, 241, 271.
Latch [Robert ?], 252.
Lawrence, John, 120 (2).
Leachland, John, 1, 119-20; letter from, 89.
Lead, trade in, *passim*; theft of, 62; price of, 64, 190, 326, 334; shipment of, 221, 222, 248, 274.
Leate, Nicholas, 195, 238.
Leeuwin, the, 26 *n.*
Leiden, the, 110.
Lemons, 110.
Lesser James, the, 26.
Libenaer, Jan, 5.
Linhares, Conde de. *See* De Noronha.
Lion, the, xxxiv, 100; master of, *see* Swanley; voyage to India, 103-5; encounter with the Portuguese, xv, 91, 101, 102, 114, 137, 140; arrives at Gombroon, 101; destroyed by the Portuguese, xi *n.*, xv, 101, 140, 163; guns and goods recovered from, 115, 138.
Little James, the, 263, 289, 293, 299, 302; attack on, by the Portuguese, xxxi, 265, 269, 285, 303-6, 312, 323, 328.
Loftus, Robert, 45; letters from, 139, 236, 288, 319; visits Dābhol, 31; in Persia, 139, 236, 288, 319; salary of, 163.
London, the, xxxiv, 91, 114, 308; master of, *see* Pym; at Batavia, 118; voyage to Bantam, xxxiii, 355-7.
'London's Hope,' the. *See* Khor Jarāma.
Looking glasses, 275.
Lord, Rev. Henry, 103, 114.
Lucas. *See* Antheunis.

Maagd van Dort, the (or *Dordrecht*), ix, 24, 26 *n.*, 76, 79, 83, 109, 182 *n.*; engaged in the fights with the Portuguese, 47-54; her armament, 50; casualties on, 87; sails for Holland, 88, 208, 216; at Batavia, 178.
Macao, 9.
Macassar, xlviii, 294, 358; letter to, 290; brimstone from, 344; Portuguese at, 9 *n.*; Danish factory at, 119; present for the King of, 223, 291, 327.
Madagascar (St. Lawrence), xxii, 23, 25, 69, 281. *See also* St. Augustine's Bay.
Madder, Indian. *See Rūnās.*
Magadoxo, 213.
Magellan's Straits, 117.
Mahābat Khān, 130, 149, 171 (2), 172, 173, 190, 204, 241, 246, 247; commands troops for Jahāngīr, 95; dismissed, 151; his caravan captured by royal troops, 149; takes Jahāngīr prisoner, xvii, xviii, xix, 151, 152; defeats Nūr Mahal's forces, xviii, 152; imprisons Āsaf Khān, xix, 152; massacre of his troops at Kābul, xix, 152; secedes to Shāh Jahān, xxiv, 204, 226; rewarded by him, 241; becomes Khānkhānān, 229; his son, *see* Bahrawar, Mīrzā.
Māhim, 220.
Mahmūd Ādil Shāh, King of Bījāpur, 193, 254, 258, 274.
Mahmūd Alī Ispahānī, 30.
Mahmūd Hāmid, 255.
Mahmūd Kāsim, Qāzī, 30.
Mahmūd Mahfūz, 173.
Mahmūd, Mīrzā, 212, 294, 322, 323, 330, 337; letter from, 325.
Mahmūd Sālih Tabrīzī, 30.
Mahmūd Sūfī, 30.
Mahmūd Taqī, 281-3.
Mahmūdī Ibrāhīm, 30.
Mahmūdīs, references to, *passim*; value of, 150 *n.*, 156.
Māit, 70.
Makalla, 70 *n.*, 71.
Makkī, Mīrzā, 189, 232, 273, 275.
Malabar junks, 91, 92, 219, 245, 253; capture of, 177, 261, 262, 274; pepper, xxxvi, 62; pirates, 24, 32, 89, 91, 167, 197, 198.
Malacca, King of Achin besieges, xxxiv, 347; Portuguese at, 9; Captain of, 9 *n.*; Straits of, 82.
Malaya, 9 (2), 131, 359 *n.*; the English trade with, 16; his house at Tegnapatam, 14 *n.*, 16; his brother, 16; assists the Dutch, 358.
Maldives, the, 217; capture of a junk from, 104, 111.
Malik Ambar, 151, 193, 243; capture of his ship, 33; his junk at Shuhair, 71.
Malim, Richard, 184, 216.
Man, Eustace (master of (i) the *Anne*, (ii) the *Abigail*, (iii) the *Eagle*), 97, 106, 124, 182, 290, 294, 311; at consultations aboard ship, 96, 98, 101; his instructions for a voyage to Batavia, 125; his private trade, 211, 308; removed from his command, 264; accusations against, 288, 291, 304, 325; his trial, 265; his return to England, 289.
Mangalore, Hall's fleet visits, xxviii, 260-8; Portuguese at, 31.
Mansabdār, 189.
Mansūr Khān, 190, 191, 249.
Manzil, 273.

Maps, complaint as to, 109.
Maqam, 177.
Martaban, jars of, 13.
Martin, Malachi, 210, 236, 244, 276, 285, 294, 298, 311, 319; letter from, 274; his accusations against Burt, 321.
Martin, William, 123, 230; letters from, 191, 230, 231, 234, 238, 244 (2), 245, 249, 269, 272, 274; at a consultation aboard ship, 1; imprisoned at Surat, 19; at Broach, 195, 209, 230; extends his period of service, 211; sails for England, 277, 295.
Mary, the, 178, 222, 237, 245, 249, 287, 291, 294; master of, *see* Hall; voyage to India, xxii, 184, 185, 186; cruises along the coast of India and to the Comoro Islands, xxvi, xxvii, 219, 250–69; at Swally, 187, 190, 288; consultation aboard, 287; in 'Tamona' Road, 274; voyage to Bantam, 265, 269, 285, 293, 298, 299, 307, 308.
Masarrat ('moozra'), 113.
Mascarenhas. *See* Réunion.
Mascarenos, Francisco, 296, 311 *n.*
Masīh-al-Zamān. *See* Sadrā.
Masīra, viii, 61.
Masulipatam, references to, *passim*; letters from, 115, 132, 136; letters to, 4, 12, 25, 130, 131, 132, 145; consultations at, 117, 120, 280; Governor of, 5, 13, 280–4, 346; letter to, 281; buys the hull of the *Unity*, 17; complaints against, xlii, xlvi, 119, 278; negotiations with, xlvi–xlviii, 316–18, 339, 341; factors at, *see* Bearden, Brewer, Dale, Dod, Duke, Futter, Hawley (Robert), Henley, Hudson, Johnson (Thomas), Lawrence, Mills, *and* Trafford; want of factors at, 159; quarrels amongst the factors at, xlii, 12, 119, 144, 147; errors in the accounts from, 12; debts at, 9, 160, 315 (2); trade at: in diamonds, xlii, 25; in cotton cloth, &c., xlviii, 8, 9, 12, 13, 119, 148, 180, 270, 284, 358; in pepper, 12, 180; in porcelain, 12, 281, 284, 297, 340; and in other commodities, 180, 181, 281, 315, 339, 340, 341; gunpowder from, 309; supplies for, xlii, xlvi, 97, 118, 144, 148, 159, 160, 180, 200, 294, 307, 325, 329; rials not in demand at, 162, 180; diamond mine near, *see* Kollūr; state of trade at, 18, 41; restrictions on building operations at, 13; English ships at, xli, xlv, xlvi, 17, 25, 136, 144, 182; dispatch of ships for England from, 159, 181; troubles with the native authorities at, 5, 119, 280–4, 312; statement of English grievances and demands, xlvii, 282, 283, 316–18, 341, 357; seizure of native shipping at, xlvii, 315, 316, 339, 340, 357; release of captured vessels, 341; dissolution of the factory, xlvi, 251, 278, 290, 357; removal of the factory from, *see* Armagon; Shāh Jahān at, 151; Danes at, 340; they settle a factory there, 119; Dutch at, 118, 119, 281, 283, 294; their chief, *see* Dedel *and* Van Uffelen; their ships at, 17; a Dutch skipper murders an Englishman, 19; troubles with the natives, xlvii, 5, 8, 13, 341; seizure of native vessels by, xlvii, 341; English disagreements with, xlii, 119; they agree to assist the English, 280; and take refuge on English ships, xlvii, 317; their claims against the natives, 357–8.
Matar, 234.
Mataram, Sultan of, 26 *n.*
Matthew (*or* Mathews), William, 288, 360.
Maund, *passim*; weight of, 355.
Mauritius, the, 117 *n.*, 168, 178, 182 *n.*, 350 *n.*; at the attack on Bombay, 142–4.
Mauritius, English ships at, xxix, 249, 261–8, 331–3; ebony from, 38, 68, 69; Danes at, 38.
'Mavies.' *See* Cotton goods.
Merchant's Hope, the, 9.
Mestiço, 98, 110, 135, 344.
Middelburg, the, 110.
Middleton, Sir Henry, 56.
Midhakur, 183.
Mills, Thomas, xli, 6, 8, 9, 12, 97, 183; letters from, 132, 136; letters to, 130, 131, 132; complaints against, xlv, 5, 144–7; at Masulipatam, 117; and the settlement of factories at Petapoli, xlii, 115; and at Armagon, xlii–xlv, 120–3, 128, 132–6; returns to Masulipatam, 135; to go to Batavia, xlv, 146, 147; acts as private trade agent, 148; death of, xlvi.
Milward, Captain John, 310.
Ministers, 46 *n.* *See also* Friday, Goche, Lord, *and* Woolhouse.
Minors, William, 69, 243, 248, 302; letters from, 222, 248; his accounts of the *Eagle's* voyages, 23, 31, 40, 53, 54; and of the fights with the Portuguese, 53; transferred to the *Scout*, 54, 68, 109; his accounts of her voyages, 69–73, 109; at consultations aboard ship, 289, 303.
Mīr Kamāldīn, 346.
Mīr Mūsā, Governor of Cambay, 176, 234, 271, 335; trades with the English, 73, 79, 86, 87 (2), 89, 95, 113, 172, 195, 201; assists the Surat factors, xxvi, 201, 229.
Mīr Razzaq, 242.
'Mirpass' (Mīr Abbās *or* 'Mirpsse'). *See* Masulipatam, Governor of.

Mīrzā Mahmūd. *See* (*as also in similar cases*) Mahmūd, Mīrzā.
Moga, 25, 148.
Mohilla. *See* Comoro Islands.
Mohurs (*or* sunnies), 235 (2); value of, 270.
Mokha (*see also* Red Sea), 21, 55; the English forced to establish a factory at, xiii, xiv, 102, 347–9; factors at, *see* Beale, Fall, *and* Oliver; English trade at, 36, 63, 158, 159, 193, 289, 291, 304; information with regard to trade at, 350, 351; privileges and customs enjoyed by the English in, 354; state of trade at, 353; commodities suitable for, 349, 350, 351; coffee from, 213; weights and measures at, 354, 355; customs duties at, 354; dispatch of ships for, *see* Swally; English ships at, 70, 75, 82, 88, 288, 347, 349, 353; Englishmen detained at, xvii, 102, 158, 347, 348; their release, 354; Governor of, 158, 347–53; refuses to permit English to leave, 352; junks of, 70, 71; passes granted to, 50, 352–4; Indian trade to, 68, 71, 158, 209, 230; trade between Cairo and, 349, 350, 352; the Arabs threaten to attack, 352; they capture the port, 327; the Dutch attempt to re-settle a factory at, 351; their ships there, 154, 350, 353; they refuse to help the English, 350, 351; Portuguese fleet off, 154.
Moluccas, the, 181; spices from, 12.
Mombarrique, Cape, 49, 166, 169.
Momjāma, 87.
Monk, Richard, 75; his accounts of the *Royal James's* voyages, 23, 39, 50–3, 77, 91, 108, 116, 126; and of the fights with the Portuguese, 50.
Moories, 284.
Morgan, George, 300.
Morris, William, 355 *n*.
Morris, the, xix, 140, 168, 346; master of, *see* Waller; at the attack on Bombay, 142–4; voyage to Persia, xxii, 164; and to Masulipatam, xxii, xlvi, 177, 178, 216; at Armagon, 223; returns to Batavia, 182; voyage to England, 218, 290, 291.
Morton, Matthew (captain of the *Exchange* (*q.v.*)), 182, 186, 223, 225, 326; letters from, 245, 248 (2), 272 (2); at consultations aboard ship, 287, 289; death of, 279 *n*.
Mosul, 322 *n*.
Mountney, James, 14, 16.
Mountney, Nathaniel, 299, 310; letters from, 188, 215, 221, 230, 231, 235, 238, 241, 242, 244, 245, 248, 270, 273, 275; his salary, 314, 326.
Mozambique, 10, 24, 214, 284; Hall's fleet visits, 263–9; Portuguese vessels at, 38; English designs on their fleet from, xxii, xxix, 181, 265, 266.
Muckwooll, Thomas, 98.
Mūgā. *See* Moga.
Muhammad Shāhsuwār, Khwāja, sails for England, 88; his death, 88 *n*.; death of his son, 207.
Mulher, 176.
Mun, Thomas, xxxvi, xxxvii.
Mundy, Peter, 285, 310, 314.
Muqarrab Khān, 127, 151, 172, 241, 271.
Murād Amīr, 70, 72.
Murād Beg, Khwāja, letter from, 116.
'Murtherer,' 71, 118, 132, 136.
Mūsā, the, 235.
Mūsā Beg, xiii, 87; sails from Swally, 88; returns from Holland, 184.
Musandam, Cape, 49, 82.
Muschamp, George, xlviii, 42 *n*., 75, 75 *n*., 78 *n*., 118, 290, 295; letters from, 148, 182, 278, 357; sails for India, 24; at Surat, 68; at Batavia, 148; at Bantam, 278; becomes President there, xxxix, 357; his private trade, 148.
Muskat, 22, 40, 43, 54, 73, 80, 85, 160 *n*.; Portuguese at, 50, 99, 199; Shāh of Persia's designs on, x, 37, 107, 163, 237, 311; English assistance desired, 42, 43, 80, 107, 169, 198, 237; conditions to be demanded, 164; Dutch assistance for, 164, 169; Portuguese fleet sails for, xii, 53, 154, 238; Captain of, capture of his ship, 31, 61; suggested English fortification at, 199, 214.
'Mussafees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Mutamad Khān, xvii.
Mutawallī Mahmūd, 30.
'Muttfones.' *See* Cotton goods.

Nādir-uz-Zamān, 93, 130.
Nagaur, 91.
Nāhir Khān, 273; succeeds Saif Khān, xxv, 188, 232; espouses the cause of Dāwar Bakhsh, 233.
Nakhīlū, 84.
Nākhudā, 71, 320.
Naqd Alī Beg, Persian ambassador to England, xxii, 45, 237, 321; embarks on the *Star*, xii, 53, 78, 88, 96; sails from England in the *Hart*, 183; death of, xxiii, 207, 216, 225.
Narbadā, 229.
Narsāpurpatam, 17, 200, 338.
Narwār, letter from, 273.
Nassau ('Nintam') Islands, 177, 178.
Naubat, 235.
Nau-rōz, 127, 335.

Nāyak, 131, 132. *See also* Armagon, Pondicherri, *and* Tanjūr.
Nāziruddīn, 30.
Nazmuddīn, 30.
Negapatam, 8 *n.*, 9, 14, 347 ; Governor of, 1 ; English deserters capture his junk, 15.
'Nerrer,' 273.
'Nicanees.' *See* Cotton goods.
Nicholson. *See* Wickson.
Nieuw Zeeland, the, 11.
Nieuwe Bantam, the, ix, 18, 24, 27 *n.*, 79, 91, 109, 125, 126 ; engaged in the fights with the Portuguese, 46, 54 ; her armament, 50.
Nieuwigheid, the, 182 *n.*
Nizām Khwāja, 331.
Nizām Shāh, King of Ahmadnagar, 176, 197 ; claim against, 192 ; his designs on Bījāpur, 193, 252.
Noord Holland, the, 182.
Norbury (*or* Norber), Nicholas, 24 *n.*, 68.
Norbury, Richard, 76.
Norris, John, 243, 278 *n.*, 285, 315.
Nūr, Āghā, 34, 171.
'Nuries.' *See* Cotton goods.
Nūr Mahal (*or* Jahān), xxv, 149, 241, 242, 247 ; throne for, 93 ; and Shāh Jahān's rebellion, 151–3 ; her forces defeated by Mahābat Khān, xviii, xix, 152 ; and the succession, xvii–xix, 172, 206 ; purchases from the English, 173 (2).

Offley, Justinian, xvii, 113, 127, 139, 141, 149, 154, 173 ; superseded as chief at Agra, xxiii, 162, 170 ; death of, xxiv, 196, 209 ; his estate, 239, 271.
Ōlai, 133.
Oliver, James, 291, 304, 349.
Olpād (*Orpār*), Governor of. *See* Pahlawān Safīd.
Oranje, the, 117 *n.*, 350 *n.*
Orlando, Signor, 322.
Ormus (*or* Jarūn), 1, 35, 42, 45, 85, 114, 198, 319, 324 ; King of, 85 ; castle at, 80 ; 'geru' (red earth) from, 188, 237, 244, 302, 320 ; building materials from, 22, 85, 199 ; English claim for share of spoils from, 37, 43, 44 ; Indian trade to, 37 ; natives desire English trade, 84 ; state of trade at, 37 ; question of the disposal of, x, 42, 164 ; the English desire the cession of, 44, 45, 163 ; which the Dutch also solicit, 42, 45 ; but are refused, 84 ; English ships at, 40, 80, 85, 187, 188, 313, 361, 362 ; Anglo-Dutch fleet at, 48, 166, 167 ; proposed English factory at, 64 ; Persian fortifications at, 37, 40, 80 ; their defence of, 84 ; Portuguese at, 118 ; their designs on, 65, 83 ; their offer to purchase, refused, 84 ; their fleet sails for, 88 ; they blockade the island, ix, 39, 40, 80, 84 ; and destroy shipping, 2 ; suggested Anglo-Dutch attack on, 289.

Paddy, 316. *See also* Rice.
Padre, 114, 127, 170. *See also* Ministers.
Page, George, 24 *n.*, 90, 168, 277, 285, 299, 303 ; letters from, 150, 171, 191, 222, 275, 290, 299, 323, 325, 328, 333, 336 ; his salary, 65, 314.
Pagoda (temple), 13, 16 ; (coin), 121, 128, 129, 135, 200.
Pahar, 149.
Pahlawān Safīd, 28, 167 ; claims customs at Swally, xxvi, 175, 176, 200.
Palankeen, 121, 134.
Palembang Point, 77.
'Palmor,' Cape, 166.
Palsgrave, the, xxxv, 26, 103 *n.*, 139, 168, 181, 184, 185, 187, 203, 251, 346 ; master of, *see* Tozer ; voyage to India, 103–5 ; encounter with the Portuguese, xv, 91, 102, 114, 115, 137, 140, 163 ; at the Comoro Islands, xx, 140, 154 ; arrives at Swally, 143, 154 ; voyage to Persia, xxi, xxii, 164, 168 ; consultation aboard, 168 ; voyage to Batavia and back, xxii, 177, 178, 179, 216 ; fire aboard, 186, 203, 210, 225, 295 ; voyage to England, xxvi, 208, 217, 295.
Pancakes, xii, 54.
Pangue, 190, 191.
Pardao, xlv.
Pargana, 175.
Parwāna, *passim* ; term explained, 32 *n.*
Parwīz, Sultan (*or* Shāh), 172, 226 ; commands troops for Jahāngīr, xvii, xviii, 95 ; purchases from the English, 114 ; granted a *jāgīr*, 152, 154, 157 *n.* ; death of, xix, 152, 153 ; his sons, 240, 242.
Pashley, John (master of (i) the *Hart*, (ii) the *Star*, (iii) the *Hopewell*), 184, 216, 258 ; letter from, 274 ; at consultations aboard ship, 287, 289, 300, 303 ; his account of the *Hart's* voyage to India, 183 ; and of the *Star's* voyage, 188, 263–6, 314.
Passes for native vessels, 104, 105 ; English, 58, 102, 192, 331 ; Dutch, 192, 331, 343 ; and Portuguese, 104.
Patīlā, 360.
'Patolas.' *See* Cotton goods.
Pattamar, 189.
Paving-stones, 12.
Pearl, the, 263 *n.*
Pearl-fisheries, 84.
Pearls, 38, 148, 195 ; 'Scotch,' 86.
Pegu, gold from, 181 ; Dutch trade at, 341.

Peirce, William, 277.
Penguin (Robben) Island, 250.
Penner, 338.
Peons, 90, 141, 171, 183, 228, 345.
Pepper, trade in, *passim*; price of, 11, 12, 62, 90, 227, 254, 275, 334, 349; sifting of, 209; exported to Persia, 301, 322. *See also* Achin, Bantam, Batavia, Malabar Coast, Masulipatam, Tanjūr, &c.
Perak, tin from, 181.
'Percallas.' *See* Cotton goods.
Pernambuco, 110.
Perpetuanoes. *See* Cotton goods.
Persia, 4, 31, 57; letters to factors in, 87, 99, 107, 112, 163, 165, 168, 336; want of factors in, 45; factors in, *see* Antill, Barker, Benthall, Berriman, Burt, Gibson, Hayward, Loftus, Purifie, Smith (George), Turner, *and* Wodder; instructions to factors, 99; their salaries increased, 161, 164; factory accounts, 319, 321, 323, 327; customs duties in, 21, 37, 42, 44, 88, 161, 165, 182, 188, 309, 319, 323, 325; defrauding of, 236; punishment of offenders, 163; state of trade in, 36, 37, 100, 115, 158, 200, 238, 296, 297, 321; Indian trade to, 43, 161, 163, 296, 306, 325; shipment of native merchants' goods to India from, 301; question of the continuance of English trade in, xxi, 38, 42, 60, 64, 163; instructions for voyages to, 105, 164, 301 (2); silk from, xxxiv, 43, 107, 158, 161, 164, 209, 238, 244, 250, 289, 319, 322, 335, 337; horses from, 45, 167, 291, 301, 319, 320, 335, 337; carpets from, 55, 96 (2), 163, 209, 273; rūnās from, 150, 163; dogs from, 291, 320, 329; other commodities from, 150, 164, 237, 301; supplies for, 155, 225, 319; money to be imported into, 182, 225, 236; withdrawal of trade from, 309; resented by the Persians, 302; factors' accusations against President Wylde and Council, xxxi, 319–23; their reply and countercharges, 336–8; Anglo-Dutch joint cruise to, *see* Surat; Dutch in, 21, 42; their trade, xxxi, 37, 115, 161, 182, 289, 290, 294; they refuse to pay customs, 22, 42, 111, 236, 321, 322; exempted from payment of customs, 44; Portuguese and the English trade in, 22, 42. *See also* Gombroon, Ispahān, Ormus, Shirāz, &c.
Persia, Abbās, Shāh of, xxiii, 21, 36, 38, 81, 96, 164, 242, 302; at war with the Portuguese (*see also* Muskat), 36; and with the Turks (*see also* Basrā), 37, 237, 312; desires English assistance, x, 36, 37, 38, 43, 80, 107, 169, 198, 237; favours the Dutch, 37; but refuses to cede Ormus to them, 84; declines to allow the English to fortify, 198, 238; trade at Bantam on his behalf, 212, 223; his ambassadors to England, *see* Naqd Alī Beg *and* Sherley; to Holland, *see* Mūsā Beg; and to India, *see* Khairāt Khān; his merchant for England, *see* Muhammad Shāhsuwār, Khwāja; murder of possible successors to his throne, 237; his death, xxxi, 312.
Persian Gulf, 84; Portuguese ships in, ix, xv, 37, 43, 65, 80, 289, 313; they menace the shipping and trade in, 22, 37, 42, 84, 100; Anglo-Dutch joint action against, 37, 45, 88; and encounters with the Portuguese, x–xii, 46–54, 79, 80–3, 85–7; English, Dutch, and Portuguese commanders in, *see* Weddell, Becker, *and* Botelho; casualties in the fights, 50, 53, 81, 82, 85, 87; description of ships engaged, 49; their armaments, 50 *n.*, 85; and their crews, 50; ammunition used by the English, 88; the chase of the defeated Portuguese ships abandoned, 82.
Petapoli, re-establishment of a factory at, xlii, 115, 144; factors and supplies for, xliv, 120; factors at, *see* Dyott, Fowkes, Lawrence, Powell, *and* Trafford; cotton cloth from, 19.
Phelps, John (master of the *Spy*), 24, 44, 98, 124, 293; his voyage to Persia, 99; and to Madagascar, 124; his bravery in the encounters with the Portuguese, 49.
Pice (coin), *passim*; value of, 150 *n.*
Piece goods. *See* Cotton goods.
Piff, Leonard, 344.
Pīkdān, 360.
'Pilgars.' *See* Cotton goods.
Pinang, 278.
Pinder, Francis (master of the *Falcon*), 103 *n.*; complaints by and against, 105, 111, 114; dismissed his ship, 111, 114; appointed to the *Royal James*, 105; his account of Blyth's voyage to India, 103; and of the *Royal James's* voyages, 108, 117, 126.
Pirates, 77. *See also* Malabar.
Pīshkash, 255.
Pistachios, 164, 237, 301, 319.
Pistolets, 156, 233, 235.
Plaster of Paris, 10, 83.
'Plate tegalls.' *See Tikāls.*
Plush, 157, 327.
Pondicherri, English ship visits, 16, 17, 41; the English invited by the Nāyak to settle at, 16, 19, 41; cotton cloth from, 19, 41, 119; the Danes intercept the trade at, xli *n.*, 119.
'Poora.' *See* Srīharikōta.
Porcelain (*or* china-ware) 6, 12, 281, 284, 297, 330, 340.

Porto Novo, 14.
Portuguese, the, references to, *passim*; designs against the English, 79, 303; effect on the English trade, 193; spy aboard the English ships, xxvii, 249, 262; attack on ships from England, *see* Blyth; their shipping: wrecked off the coast of India, &c., 73, 138, 208, 223, 238, 352; designs on and instructions for the capture, &c., of, xxii, xxvii, 69, 75, 76 (2), 105, 109, 164, 194, 296, 301, 315; attacked by English vessels, 184, 185, 186, 217, 263–9; and captured by them, 8, 10, 29, 31, 39, 40, 43, 50, 61, 68, 80, 114, 265, 278, 305; Dutch depredations on, 315; fleets off the coast of India, 117, 154, 155, 160, 254, 264, 296, 311, 325, 361, 362; reinforcements for, 347; capture of native vessels by, 154, 328, 361; Shāh Jahān's consequent hostile attitude towards, 326, 327, 329, 335; prisoners in the hands of the English, 31, 50, 80, 249; release of, 69, 82; instructions as to the treatment of, 194; murder of English prisoners by, xvi, 140, 163; exchange of prisoners with, 9, 10, 306, 323, 328; assisted by the Arabs, 84; trade in jewels, 86. *See also* Basrā, Goa, Gombroon, Persian Gulf, Surat, &c.
Powell, Edward, 4, 120.
Predys, Richard, xxviii, 211, 222, 243, 285, 302, 327, 330, 335; signs letters, 190, 274; his account of Captain Hall's voyages, xxxi, 251–61, 301, 310, 320.
Presson, James, 285.
Price, —, 145.
Price, William, 315, 345.
Primeiras, the, 185, 186.
Primrose, the, 166, 237; at Swally, 167, 186.
Prin, Nicholas, 357, 362.
Pring, Martin, 14.
Prins van Holland, the, 178.
Prize money, 293, 298.
Pulāo, 48.
Pulcharī. *See* Pondicherri.
Pulicat, 9, 14, 280; errors in accounts from, 12; removal of goods from and to, xlvi, 13, 280, 315; debts at, 340; Dutch ships bring supplies to, 346; Dutch trade at, 342; complaint against Dutch at, 123, 133, 135, 146; they offer to lend supplies to the English, 346; Portuguese depredations on shipping at, xlviii, 343.
Pumpkins, 110.
Purifie, John, 21, 115, 139, 161; letters from, 21, 115, 139; letter to, 165; increase in his salary, 165.
Pynn, John, 355 *n*.

Qāfila. *See* Caphila.
Qaul, 8, 120, 316.
Qāzī, 29, 191.
'Quarter Pagodes,' 14.
Quicksilver, xxxv, 7 *n*., 36, 128, 156, 180, 244, 248, 258, 273, 343; sale of, 92, 175; price of, 64, 92, 242, 299, 310, 325, 334; shipment of, 222.
Quiemados ('Burnt') Islands, 259.
Quilon, 264.
Quilts, 209, 230, 235, 276, 309; *qutnī*, 93.

Rāhdār, 32.
Rāhdārī, 176.
Raisins, 48.
Raīs Murād, 85.
Raja (Razā *or* Reza) Bandor, 240 *n*., 270.
Rājāpur, 258; English ships at, *see* Seidepore; negotiations for establishing trade at, 255–68; Governor of (*see also* Sibo Sibo), 256, 264; Portuguese fleet at, 298.
Rājpurī. *See* Danda Rājpurī.
Rājpūts, xviii, 171, 232.
'Rambuttans.' *See* Cotton goods.
Rāmjī, 70.
Rand, Ralph, 210, 221, 314.
Rānder, 175, 201.
Ranthambhor, 171.
Rāotī, 270, 361.
Ras-al-hadd, 105.
Ras-al-Kuh. *See* Mombarrique.
Rastell, Thomas, President at Surat, vi, ix, 5, 7, 27, 36; letters from, 3, 55, 66; letter to, 78; imprisoned at Surat, 4, 19; at consultations aboard ship, 1, 24 *n*.; sails for England, xii, 65, 66, 88; in London, 78.
Ratī, 89, 355.
Ratl, 355.
Razā, Āghā, 30.
Read, Thomas, 1.
Red Sea, state of trade in, xxx, 158, 293, 296; English trade to, 60, 158, 214; abandoned, 36; Indian trade to, 54, 154, 158, 159, 166, 258; Dutch trade to, 158, 263, 265, 267; Portuguese fleet in, 154. *See* Jiddah, Mokha, Sana, &c.
Reformation, the, v, 1, 11, 26 (2), 38; master of, *see* Morris; at Swally, 1, 55; attacked by the Portuguese at Ormus, 2; voyage to Achin and Batavia, 6, 7, 18, 55; and to Masulipatam, 41, 118; arrives in England, 308; voyage to India, xxxiii, 355–7; and from Surat to Gombroon and back, xxxiv, 361, 362.
Refuge, the, xxii, xxvi, 184, 185, 186, 219, 220, 221, 223, 250, 262; at Swally, 178, 187, 222; voyage to Bantam, xxvii,

xxviii, 251, 255, 264, 267, 268, 274; wrecked there, 278, 291.
Réunion (Mascarenhas *or* England's Forest), English ships at, 263–7, 332, 333.
Rials of eight, references to, *passim*; importation of, xxxv; chests of, 25, 102; gold to take the place of, 66, 147, 162, 180; value of, 66, 128, 181.
Rice, 18, 20, 26 (2), 39, 48, 77, 123, 316, 329, 350, 357. *See also* Paddy.
'Riders,' Dutch, 156, 235.
Roberts, John, 278.
Robinson, Richard, 4, 9.
Robinson, Thomas, 265, 288, 289, 291, 304, 325.
Roderick, Peter, 98.
Rodrigo, 170.
Rodriguez, 261–8.
Roe, Sir Thomas, 195.
Roebuck, the, 11, 216.
Rose, John, 333.
Rose, the, 117, 124; sails for Jambi, 11; and for Masulipatam, 97, 118; wreck of, xlii, 136, 145.
Rosewater, 89, 107, 164, 237, 301, 319.
Rosons, Christopher, 103.
Rowe, John, commander of the *Star*, 24 *n.*, 44, 78; at consultations aboard the *Royal James*, 32 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 68, 78 *n.*; his voyage to England, 76.
Royal Anne, the. *See Anne.*
Royal Exchange, the. *See Exchange.*
Royal James, the, ix, xvi, xxxiv, 14, 31, 45, 55, 75, 83, 137, 140; consultations aboard, 32, 34, 40, 45, 46, 67, 68, 75, 78, 98, 111; appointments to, 24; voyage to India, 23 (2), 24; at Swally, 34, 36; voyage to Persia and back, 39 (2), 40, 55, 61, 82; her barge captures a Portuguese vessel, 39; engaged in the encounters with the Portuguese, xi, 47–54, 81–2; damaged in the fight, 49, 82; casualties on, 50, 53, 81, 82, 85; her armament, 50; voyage to Batavia and back, xii, 65, 68, 73, 77 (2), 88, 91 (2), 100, 102, 118; captures native shipping, 91, 92; second voyage to Persia, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 107, 108 (2), 115, 116 (2), 117, 123; voyage to England, 125, 126 (2), 150.
Royal Mary, the. *See Mary.*
Rubies, 195.
Ruby, the, 4, 12 (2).
Rumsy, Anthony, 278 *n.*
Rūnās (Indian madder), xxxv, 20, 22, 57, 61, 89, 150, 163.
'Rundeleroes,' 121.
Rupees, *passim*; *Jahāngīrī*, 33, 149, 228; *khazāna*, 33; *sikkā*, 235, 238.
Ruy Freire. *See* De Andrade.
Saādat Yār, 30.
Sack, 297, 311.
Sadrā, Hakīm (*Masīh-al-Zamān*), 56, 171.
Sadr Khān, 127.
Saffron, 7 *n.*, 128.
Safī, the, 235.
Saguate, 255.
Sāhib-sūbah, 188, 203, 206.
Saīd Shaikhān, 3.
Saif Khān Jahāngīr Shāhī, Nawāb, Viceroy of Gujarāt, 30, 189; and the troubles at Surat, 21, 32, 33, 58, 113; assists the factors, vii, 59; ordered to refund money extorted by him, viii, 32, 60; accused of receiving bribes, 102; presents Hopkinson with a horse, 113, 130; seizes the castle at Surat, 203; dismissed from his post by Shāh Jahān, xxv, 206.
Sailors, charged with pilfering, 1, 62, 67, 194; steps taken to prevent pilfering from prizes by, 20, 75, 76, 165; diet whilst in port, 9, 10; wages of, 75; list of, to be furnished, 98.
St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar), xxix, 24, 69, 104, 154, 178, 179, 200, 216, 263–8, 284, 291.
St. Helena, English ships at, 110, 218, 250, 313, 314, 332, 333; Portuguese deserters at, 110; account of an attack on, 46 *n.*, 110.
'St. John's.' *See* Sanjān.
St. Lawrence. *See* Madagascar.
'Saitavda,' 253.
Saiyid Alī, the Qāzī, 171.
Salām, 232, 281.
Salampores. *See* Cotton goods.
Saldanha Bay, 25. *See also* Table Bay.
'Sallas' ('salowes'). *See* Cotton goods.
Salt, 25, 219; shipped as ballast, 17; manufacture of, 332.
Saltpetre, references to, *passim*; shipped as ballast, 83, 208; shortage in supplies of, 239; restrictions on trade in, 270, 335; export of, xxxv; to Persia, 301; price of, 215, 275.
'Samadramoores.' *See* Cotton goods.
Samāna, letters from, 141, 149 (2), 168, 169; investments at, xvii, xxiv, 127, 149, 153, 173.
Samuel, the, voyage to India, xxxiii, 355–7; captures a native junk, 356, 357; destroyed by the Portuguese, xxxiii, 356, 357.
San Sebastião, the, 47.
San Thomé, 9; Captain of, letter to, 9, 10; Portuguese at, xlviii, 343; English designs on their shipping, 280.
Sana, 193; Dutch prisoners at, 63, 158, 351; Pāshā of, 158; grants *farmāns* for English trade, 158, 159; and the settle-

ment of a factory at Mokha, 347–55; purchases from the English, 349; Dutch negotiations with, 351; a new Pāshā appointed, 353.
Sandal-wood, 31, 97, 118, 120, 131, 133, 144, 181, 223, 281, 284, 291, 315, 330, 339, 340, 341, 342, 346, 351, 357.
Sandūk Sultān, Governor of Gombroon, 42, 81, 83; negotiates for English assistance against the Portuguese, 43–5; sends supplies to their ships, 81; present for, 45; friction between the Dutch and, 80.
Sanjān (St. John's), 186, 267; Portuguese at, 72, 73; ship wrecked near, xiv, 73, 99.
Sāntidas, 189, 215, 221.
Sarāī, 230.
Saris. *See* Sayers.
Sarkār. *See* Sircar.
Sarkhej, indigo from, xxxv, 38, 93, 230, 232, 326; price of, 63, 208, 275, 334, 335.
Sārrāf, 150, 296, 354.
Sarvayya (*or* 'Surwaye'), 131, 132.
Satins, 38, 63, 150, 157, 173, 195, 224.
Sayers, Abraham, his account of the *Hopewell's* voyages, 185, 218, 266; and of the *Star's* voyage to England, 313.
Sayers (*or* Saris), Edmund, 97, 98, 106.
Schoonhoven, the, 5, 11, 25 *n.*
Scout, the, ix, xiv, 24, 35, 54, 76, 91, 106, 207, 216, 225; master of, *see* Best *and* Evans; appointments to, 24, 54; at Swally, 24, 32, 35; takes part in the encounters with the Portuguese, 46; sails for Swally, 67; her voyage in search of the *Anne*, xiii, 54, 68, 69–73, 82, 88; her encounter with a native vessel, 72; her cruise to assist the ships from England, 97; returns to Swally, 98; her voyage to England, 106–12; returns to the East, xxii, 184–6; detained at Aden, xxii, xxx, 279, 288, 292, 293, 305, 353.
Scudamore, Edward, 210, 212, 227, 294.
Seals, 250.
Sebuku Island, 13, 17 (2), 91 (2).
'Secrecour.' *See* Srīharikōta.
Seer, references to, *passim*.
Seidepore (*or* Jaitāpur), Hall's fleet visits, 254–68.
'Selas.' *See* Cotton goods.
'Semeanes.' *See* Cotton goods.
Sequins ('checkeenes'), 156, 350, 355.
'Serasses.' *See* Cotton goods.
'Seribaffs.' *See* Cotton goods.
Seryas. *See* Cotton goods.
Sesamum seeds, 316.
Sewell, Edward, 24.
Shāhbandar, 212, 283, 330.
Shāhī, the, 253, 362.
Shāhābād, 149 *n.*
Shāh Jahān (Khurram), Prince, xxiv, 188, 321; and the succession, xvii–xix, 189, 190, 202–7, 226, 231, 235; in rebellion against Jahāngīr, xiii, 78, 95, 96, 151–3, 171–2, 180; his designs on Gujarāt, 78, 153; his adherents, 95; marches into Sind, xix, 152; passes near Surat, xxv, 78, 161, 162; retreats into the Deccan, xix, 161; extortions on his behalf, xxv, 189, 191, 205, 206; proclaimed Emperor, xxix, 204–6, 228; presents from the factors for, xxv, 205, 228, 229; at Agra, xxv, xxix, 229, 231; and the minting of coins, xxix, 232; he mounts the throne, 234, 240; murder of his rivals, xxix, 240, 242; his sons, 247; his farmān disobeyed, 273; his junk (*see also* the *Fath*), 304; horses for, 322; final submission of discontented nobles, &c., xxx, xxxii, 271, 336; his attitude towards the Portuguese, xxxii, 326, 327, 335; threatens reprisals for the capture of native shipping, xxxii, 327, 328, 329 *n.*, 330; desires English assistance, xxxii, 328, 336.
Shahriyār, Sultan, xvii, 153, 172; proclaimed Emperor, xxiv, 206; his forces defeated, xxiv, 179 *n.*, 226; murder of, xxix, 240, 242.
Shāh Shujā, 240, 247.
Shaikh Alī, 191, 249.
Shamiyāna, 361.
Sharp, Nicholas, 356, 361.
Shashes (turban-cloths), 32 *n.*, 33, 62, 139, 158, 209, 224, 227, 327, 350.
Shehr. *See* Shuhair.
Sherley, Sir Robert, xxii, 100, 102, 207, 216, 225, 237; death of, xxiii *n.*; his wife, 102, 207, 216, 225.
Shinās, 84.
Ship-building in India, viii, 17 *n.*, 85, 198, 218.
Shipman, James, 285.
Ship-masters, giving of presents by, forbidden, 12; complaint as to their attitude towards the factors, 295, 326; extra allowance for, 326.
Shiqdār, 175.
Shirāz, 85; wine of, 89, 107, 164.
Shirāz, Khān of, 22, 42, 81, 85, 237; letter to, 45; letter from, 83; builds a castle at Gombroon, 22; at Bagdad, 36; besieges Basrā (*q.v.*), 42; complaint against, 43, 44; exempts the Dutch from payment of customs, 44.
Shitranjī, 360.
Shorter, James, 111.
Shot, manufacture of, 73, 85.

Shuhair, 3, 70, 71; the *Scout* at, 70; Indian trade to, 72; Governor of, *see* Murād Amīr.
Shuker, Jeremy, 285, 294, 298, 299, 311; letters from, 190, 230, 231, 234, 238, 244 (2), 245, 249, 269, 272, 274; his salary, 66.
Shyām, 177.
Siam, Portuguese treachery in, 9.
Sibo Sibo, 254, 255, 274.
Sīdī Ambar, xxvii, 252.
Silk, 67, 88, 214; from Bengal, 25; re-imbaling of, at Surat, 319. *See also* Persia.
Silk grass, 25, 26.
Sill, Henry, 359.
Silver, 38, 326; value of, 181, 334; from Japan, 4, 26, 144.
Silver lace, xxxv, 241.
Simon and Jude, the, takes part in the encounters with the Portuguese, 46; captures two junks, 77 (2); at Batavia, 118, 178.
Sind, the English granted freedom of trade in, 27; Shāh Jahān marches into, xix, 152. *See also* Diul-Sind *and* Tatta.
Sircar, 141, 173, 176; term explained, 141 *n.*, 176 *n.*
Sirhind, letters from, 149, 177.
Sitān-barāt, 32 *n.*, 33.
Skibbow, John, 210, 215, 277, 303, 337; letters from, 191, 222, 250, 275, 276, 299, 323, 325, 328, 333, 336; his salary, 314.
Skins used for packing, 87.
Slade, James (master of the *Blessing*), 215, 278; letters from, 215, 221 (2), 222 (2); at consultations aboard ship, 168, 287, 289, 300, 303.
Slaves, 83, 97, 118, 136, 165, 224, 265, 267, 269, 357; for Persia, 187 *n.* *See also* Coolies.
Smith, Edward, 34.
Smith, George, 45, 163; letters from, 101 (2), 139.
Smith, Lieutenant Osmond, 145, 147, 148.
Smith (*or* Smythe), Robert, 24 *n.*, 32 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 75, 96, 97, 288.
Smith (*or* Smythe), Thomas, 210, 285 *n.*, 314.
Socotra, 54, 68, 69, 82, 88; the *Scout* at, 69; aloes from, 93, 209, 309; King of, 69; letter to, 3; letters from, 3, 63.
Sofala, 214.
Sombra, 79.
Southaike, Richard, 230, 231, 273, 274; letters from, 238, 239, 247.
South Holland, the. *See Zuid Holland.*
Spain, Infanta of, 85.
Spectacles, 93.
Spices (including cinnamon, cloves, mace, and nutmegs), references to and trade in, *passim*; price of, 228, 291.
Spikenard, 175, 209.
Spy, the, ix, 35, 77, 112, 160, 163, 305, 352; master of, *see* Phelps; voyage to India, 23, 24; captures a Portuguese vessel, 39, 40; takes part in the encounter with the Portuguese, 46, 49; voyage to Batavia and back, 68, 82, 88, 91, 118; refits at Swally, 98; voyage to Persia and back, xiv, 91, 92, 98, 99, 103, 115–17, 118; sent to Madagascar to meet outward-bound ships, xvi, 123, 124, 125, 126, 154, 293.
Srīharikōta, siege of, 120, 128, 132, 133.
Stammell (bastard scarlet *or* stammet), 134, 180, 196, 325, 334, 350.
Star, the, ix, xxxiv, xxxv, 24, 25, 31, 34, 44, 75, 83, 109, 259, 287, 320, 360; master of, *see* Barnes, Malim, Pashley, *and* Rowe; consultation aboard, 362; voyage to India, 23–5, 34, 36; Persian ambassador embarks in, xii, 45, 53; engaged in the fights with the Portuguese, 47–54; casualties on, 50, 53, 85; her armament, 50; returns to Swally, 82; supplies for, 68; voyage to England, 65, 76, 77 (2), 78, 88; returns to India, xxii, 178, 183; voyage to Persia and back, xxiii, 179, 186, 187, 188, 216, 220; and along the coast of India and to the Comoro Islands, 250–69; second voyage to England, 285, 291, 303, 312–4, 324, 329, 333.
Staverton, Thomas, letter to, 7.
Steel, Richard, letters from, 148, 182, 278.
Steel, 337; purchase of, 6, 55.
Sterne, Charles, 182, 236.
Stockton, Francis, 278 *n.*; letter from, 186.
Strethay, John, 210.
Strong waters, for presents, 38, 271.
Stubbs, Thomas, 327.
Styles, Captain Thomas, 310.
Sūbadār. *See* Sāhib-sūbah.
Suffield, Arthur, 210, 288, 314.
Sugar, from Surat, 55; from Agra, 176, 228, 236, 239; from Ahmadābād, 230, 235, 241, 246; from Rājāpur, 258; dearness of, 212, 335; price of, 221; candy, 55, 286; *jagra*, 236.
Sugarloaf Mountain, 23.
Suhār, 54.
Sumatra, 64; pepper from, 9, 10; gold from, 181; dispatch of ships for, 11, 18, 65. *See also* Achin *and* Jambi.
Sunda, Isles of, 10; Straits of, 13, 178. *See also* Lagundy.
'Sunneas' (*Sonā*), 235, 270.

Surat, letters to and from, and references to, *passim*; shipping at the port of, *see* Swally; Governor of, xxv, 28, 29, 116, 157, 174, 311; factors to embark on ships only on his permit, viii, 29; his junk, 166, 167; trades with the English, 196, 307, 326; present for, 328; Shāhbandar of, 212, 330; President at, *see* Kerridge, Rastell, *and* Wylde; President and Council, grant of judicial powers to, by King James, 65, 337; their instructions: for various voyages, 69, 74, 76 (3), 97, 99, 105, 109, 123, 124, 125, 164, 277, 298, 301 (2); to the factors in Persia, 99; as to commission and brokerage, 92; for the capture of Portuguese and native shipping, 105, 124, 298, 302, 327, 335; for governing the conduct of seamen and for the prevention of private trade, 286, 287; and for the disposal of ships' ballast, 300; they appoint a rendezvous for India bound ships, xvi, 124, 140, 160, 213; accusations against, by the Persian factors, xxxi, 288, 304; their reply and counter-charges, xxxi, xxxii, 336-8; consultations by, 68, 73, 89, 90, 92, 94, 98, 108, 111, 119, 285, 299, 303, 340; to consult sea commanders as to the disposal of shipping, 64, 74; factors at, *see* Barber, Boothby, Burt, Hoare, Hopkinson, Martin, Page, *and* Skibbow; housing of factors at, 28; their salaries, 1, 314; factory accounts, 64, 175, 213, 306, 327, 334; remarks on factory, &c., expenses in India, xxxvii, 294, 331; inventory of household utensils, &c., at, 360; English broker at, *see* Harijī; captain of the castle at, *see* Jam Qulī Beg; the castle seized by Saif Khān, xxv, 203; and surrendered to Shāh Jahān, xxv, 206; troubles with the authorities at, vi, 19-21, 36, 56-61, 176, 177, 179; imprisonment of factors, vi, vii, 4, 18, 26, 56, 58; consultation in prison, 19; plans for the seizure of native shipping, vii, viii, 18, 19-21, 57, 59, 60, 61, 179; restitution of goods taken in a Chaul junk, 66, 67; release of factors, vii, 18, 33, 58; settlement of the troubles, viii, 21, 32-3, 36, 59; amicable relations between English and natives at, xxxi, 192, 211; agreement for the regulation of the English trade, &c., viii, 27-30, 33, 59, 60, 113, 176; extortions from the factors, 173; restitution of money extorted, viii, 32, 33, 60; punishment of offenders at, 28; disposal of deceased men's property, 29; restrictions on the sale of coral at, viii, 27, 59, 63, 67; and on the importation of munitions, 293; state of trade at, 138, 156, 157, 192-6, 291, 335; debts at, xxvi, xxx, 61, 63, 89, 100, 103, 154, 163, 194, 201, 285, 295, 296, 299, 300, 306, 326, 329-31, 334; goods provided and saleable at, 61-4, 92, 181, 325-8; value of shipments from, xxxiv, xxxv, 333; want of supplies at, 140, 227, 277, 294-6, 308; shortage of provisions at, owing to drought, xxxii *n.*, 329; manufacture of shot at, 73, 85; custom-house at, 28, 29, 92; Customer at, 157, 176; customs duties at, 59, 179; farming of, 195; trouble with regard to the imposition of, xxvi, 175, 176, 192, 201; supplies from: for Achin, 12, 55, 61 (2), 163; for Batavia and Bantam, 6, 7, 11, 18, 38, 55, 61 (2), 65, 163, 200, 223, 227, 275, 276, 287, 291, 292, 294, 297, 305, 307, 329-31, 357; for Masulipatam and Armagon, xlvi, 160, 325, 329; supplies for: from Batavia and Bantam, 100, 103, 251, 329, 330, 357; interchange of commodities with Batavia and Bantam, xxxv, 157, 180, 181, 220, 297; slaves for, 83; junks of, 73, 179, 192, 248, 301, 362; sail for Persia, 39, 79, 312-14, 320, 362; and for the Red Sea, 54, 57, 166; native merchants from, sail for Persia, 161, 163, 165, 300, 302; passages for, on English ships, refused, 68, 73, 292, 309, 329; shipment of goods for, xxx, xxxvii, 55, 106, 161, 163, 207, 211, 221, 222, 223, 292, 296, 297, 300, 306, 309, 325, 329, 330; Shāh Jahān near, xix, xxv, 78, 161, 162; fears for the safety of the factory, 78; he is visited by the factors, xxv, 205-6; he absolves the English from meeting unjust demands, 328; minting of coins at, xxix, 232; Dutch at, *passim*; their chief, *see* Van den Broeck *and* Van Hasel; letter to. 6, 324; and the troubles with the authorities, 60; offer to assist the English, 4; and the seizure of native shipping, 20, 21; assist the natives against the English, vi, 6, 7, 18, 20, 57; joint cruise with the English to Persia, ix, xvi, 35, 37, 39, 79, 88, 100, 103, 107, 108, 112, 116, 117, 161, 162, 164-8; names of the ships in the fleet, 109; supplies for, from Europe, 94, 201, 294; supplied with English stores, &c., 161, 223, 297, 307; carry goods for native merchants, 306, 330; Dutch deserters harboured by the English at, 214, 224; murder of an English sailor by a Dutchman, 265; release of the culprit, 293.

Surgeons, ships', 72, 93. *See also* Hammon, Hull, Morgan, Turner, *and* Vincent.

'Sursalles.' *See* Cotton goods.

Swallow, the, xlvi-xlviii, 290 (2), 316, 324, 339, 341, 357.

Swally, port of Surat, references to, and English ships at, *passim*; supplies for ships at, 28; disposal of ships' ballast at, 300; housing of surplus ships' stores, 288; wreck of a prize at, 31, 61; Portuguese fleet off, ix, 39 (2), 40, 50, 61, 65, 73, 88, 96, 99, 100, 102, 109, 138; challenge to the Anglo-Dutch fleet from, xiv, 104, 139; the Dutch decline to attack them, xiv, xvi, 117, 137, 138, 140, 160; attacks on English pinnaces at, *see Little James* and *Samuel*; Dutch ships at, *passim*; Dutch ship wrecked off, 167.

Swally Marine, 202, 203, 207, 224, 285, 286, 300.

Swan, Richard, xxxviii.

Swanley, Richard, master of the *James*, 24, 32, 44, 75, 98, 101, 106, 124; in charge of the *Falcon*, 111, 114; captain of the *Jonas*, 284, 287, 289, 300, 301, 303, 337.

Swanley, Richard, master of the *Lion*, death of, xv, 101, 140.

Symms, Andrew, his account of the *Hart's* voyage to the Coromandel Coast, 17.

Sytuore, 253.

Table Bay, English and Dutch ships at, 23 (2), 24, 34, 35, 109, 110, 125, 126, 155, 184, 185, 186, 217, 218, 250, 313, 314, 332, 333.

Taffeta, 128, 134.

Tahmūras, murder of, xxix, 240, 242.

Tahvīldār, 172.

Taïz, 351.

Tāj Khān, 242, 273 *n*.

Takht, 234.

'Tamona' (*or* Tambona), Hall's fleet at, 254–68, 274.

Tanjūr, proposed settlement at, xxxix, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 18; Danish opposition to the scheme, xl, 14, 65; failure of the enterprise, xl, 15, 19, 40, 41, 65; factors for, 9; cotton cloth, &c., from, 2, 4, 10, 12, 13, 19, 41, 119; pepper from, xxxix, xli, 2, 4, 12, 19; Dutch fail to establish themselves in, xxxix; Danes at, xxxix, 2, 7, 9; Portuguese at, 3, 9, 15; Nāyak of, xxxix, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16 *n*., 18, 19; letter to, 7; letter from, 7, 12; present of ship's guns for, 9, 10, 15. *See also* Kārikāl.

Tapestry, xxxv, 79, 113, 157, 224, 228, 327; sale of, 64, 86, 87, 95, 127, 151, 195, 311; sent to Persia, 64; price of, 87.

'Tappies.' *See* Cotton goods.

'Tapsiles.' *See* Cotton goods.

Tāptī River, 28, 73.

Tasū, 247.

Tatta, xix; proposed factory at, xxxii, 326.

Tattū, 361.

Tawā, 361.

Taylor, Thomas, 290.

Taylor, William, 355 *n*.

Tegnapatam, 13, 16, 17; pagodas at, 13, 14; cotton cloth from, 16. *See also* Malaya.

Thaman, 354.

Thāna, 186, 197.

Thathōlī, 239.

Thomas, John, 289.

Tiger, the, 332, 333.

Tikāls, 120.

Tiles, 10.

Tin, xxxv, 7 *n*.; from Perak, 181.

Tirumullavāsal, 14.

Tirupāpuliyūr, 13.

Tīsrā-pahar, 141.

Tissue, cloth of, 157.

Tobacco, 286, 309, 350, 351.

Tolā, 156, 235.

Torteldnif, the, 26 *n*.

Tottle, Robert, xvii, xxiv, 114, 162, 173, 230, 234, 238, 239, 273, 275; letters from, 140, 141, 149 (3), 168, 169, 177 (2), 248; his salary, 1; and private trade, 149, 150, 168, 169, 170; his return to England, 277, 295.

Toys, 127, 133, 134, 195. *See also Brinco.*

Tozer, William, 236.

Trade, private, xxxvii, 74, 108, 138, 145, 211, 224, 286, 337; suppression of, 10, 13, 286, 287, 308, 321; restrictions on, 11, 106; charging of freight and customs on, 43, 73, 195; hinders the Company's trade, 156, 227, 286, 291; proclamation against, xxxvii, 297; book on (*Health's Sickness*), 298. *See also under factors' names.*

Trafford, Edward, 4, 12, 146; chief at Petapoli, xlii, 115, 120, 135; at Masulipatam, 117, 118, 120; death of, xlii, 145.

Tranquebar, 8 *n*.; Danes at, xli, 119; their fort, 14, 16; offer of, to the Dutch, 359.

'Tremeldanes' ('Tremalavas'), 14.

'Tricandees.' *See* Cotton goods.

Tromba, 23.

Tuck (*or* Tuke), Richard, 197, 253, 254.

Tuhfa, 114, 130, 170, 215.

Tūmān, *passim*.

'Tureas.' *See* Cotton goods.

Turks captured in a Chaul junk, 36, 58; at Lahore, 33; their complaint to Jahāngīr against the English, vii, 33, 58, 59, 102; loss of Mokha trade owing to troubles with, 36, 63; the Arabs rebel against,

xxx, 351; Shah of Persia at war with (*see also* Basrā), 37, 237, 312. *See also* Grand Signor.
Turmeric, 258.
Turner, George, 164, 210, 238, 244, 255, 314.
Turner, Thomas, 302.
Turpentine, 349.
Turtle-shells, 144, 181, 291, 315, 330, 339, 341.

Umarā. *See Amīr*.
Unity, the, 3, 4 (3), 13 (2); voyage to Masulipatam, xl, 7, 8 (2), 11, 12, 18; at Masulipatam, 25, 26; unseaworthy condition of, 13, 18; to be broken up, 17; her cargo transferred to the *Hart*, 15, 17.

'Valentine Peak,' 23.
'Vall,' 156.
Van den Broeck, Pieter, Dutch chief at Surat (*q.v.*), vii, 4, 27, 111, 214, 224, 297, 307, 328; letter from, 3.
Van Hasel, Jan, 328 *n.*, 329.
Van Speult, Herman, xvi; Dutch Governor of Amboyna, 97; his fleet, 117 *n.*, 137, 161; protest against his appointment as commander of the fleet for Persia, 97, 118; his voyage to the Red Sea, 154; refuses to attack the Portuguese, 137; death of, 154, 350.
Van Uffelen, Abraham, 5; death of, 67.
Vapour, Hendrick Arentszoon, 175.
Variao, 28, 229; customs duties at, 230.
Velvets, 128, 134, 150.
Venice cloth, 349.
Venkatagiri, Nāyak of. *See* Armagon, Nāyak of.
Verhoeve, Adam, 191.
Vermilion, 7 *n.*, 128, 346.
Vernworthy, Anthony, letter from, 357.
Vian, John (master of the *Discovery*), 78 *n.*, 218; his account of the attack on Bombay, 142; and of the *Discovery's* voyages, 140, 165, 177, 178, 217, 355, 361.
Vianen, the, 218.
Viāra, 28, 176.
Vilinjam, 261.
Vincent, Richard, 289.
Vincent, Thomas, 66.
Vine, John, 77.
Vingeron, Bay of, 136.
Virginia, 25.
Virjī Vōra, 30, 190, 212, 234, 239, 271, 300, 306; trades with the English, 90, 94, 327, 334.
Viziadrūg. *See* Khārepātān.
Vrinson, Peter, 293, 300.

Wade, William, 314.
Waight, Walter, 66.
Wakīl, 30, 190, 234.
Walcheren, the, 73, 99, 109, 161, 350 *n.*
Waller, Thomas (master of the *Morris*), 168, 182, 290; letter from, 6.
Wamsly, Peter, 287.
Wapen van Encusen, the, 18.
Wapen van Hoorn, the, 109.
Wapen van Rotterdam, the, 4, 13, 17, 19 *n.*
Wapen van Zeeland, the, 165, 166, 168; takes part in the encounter with the Portuguese, 142–4.
Warden, Andrew, his account of the attack on Bombay, 144; and of the *William's* voyages, 141, 167, 178, 180, 187, 249.
'Watchett,' 62, 92, 180.
Waterhont, the, 136 *n.*
Watson, Walter, 218.
Watts, Thomas (master of the *Expedition*), 287 *n.*, 289 *n.*, 300 *n.*, 302, 303 *n.*
Webb, John, 210, 314, 327, 330.
Weddell, Captain John, ix, xiii, 355 *n.*; letters from, 34, 79, 83, 112; letters to, 83, 84; his private trade, 79; his fleet, xxxiii, 31, 34, 76, 355 *n.*; complaint as to supplies for, 83; sails for Persia, xvi, 39, 50, 61, 118; at Gombroon, 42, 51, 115, 116; engaged in the encounters with the Portuguese, *see* Persian Gulf; his bravery in action, 47; his instructions for various voyages, 74, 105, 123; consultations in his fleet, 24, 32, 34, 42–5, 48, 49, 68, 75, 78, 98, 101, 111; members of his council, 75, 124; voyage to England, 123–6; return voyage to India, 355–7.
Wesp, the, ix, 18, 24, 27 *n.*, 76, 79, 109, 182 *n.*, 275, 353; engaged in the encounters with the Portuguese, xi, 47–54, 356; her armament, 50; at Batavia, 178.
West, Nathaniel, xvii, 158, 230, 233, 234, 310, 327, 350; letters from, 229, 234, 238, 244 (2), 245, 249, 269, 274; imprisoned at Surat, 19; his salary, 315.
Whale, the, 1, 7.
Wheat, 10, 12, 39, 236, 329, 349, 357.
Wheatley, Henry, 24 *n.*, 75, 124; letters from, 34, 74; at consultations aboard the *Royal James*, 32 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 78 *n.*; his private trade, 74.
White, Daniel, 24 *n.*, 288, 298; letter from, 274; at consultations aboard the *Royal James*, 32 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 78 *n.*; sails for England, 77.
White, John, 278 *n.*
White, William, 302.
Wickson (*or* Nicholson), Henry, 288, 353.
Wilbraham, Thomas, 288, 310, 314.

William, the, v–ix, xxix, xxxiv, xxxv, 57, 60, 61, 65, 114, 168, 185, 248, 261, 262; master of, *see* Brown; armament of, 32; at Swally, 6, 19, 24, 31, 34, 35 (2), 39, 40 (2), 51, 55, 58, 79, 80; voyage to Batavia and back, viii, 18, 26; and to Persia, 21, 22; designed for England, 6, 32, 37, 55, 66; winters at Batavia, 58, 61; sails for England, xii, 88; returns to India, xix, 140, 141, 154; at the attack on Bombay, 142–4; second voyage to Persia, xxi, xxii, 164–7; third voyage to Batavia and back, xxii, 177–9, 181; third voyage to Persia and back, 179, 186, 187, 188, 216, 220, 225; lading of, at Swally, 274–6; second voyage to England, 214, 227, 249–50, 263–8, 277, 289, 295.
Williamson, George, 236, 301, 319, 337.
Willoughby, George, 360.
Willoughby, John, vi, viii, 32, 34, 89, 103, 127, 162, 299, 310; letters from, 32, 94, 112; returns to England, 127; again at Surat, 285; his salary, 314.
Wills, Joseph (master of the *Falcon*), 75, 96, 97, 98, 101, 124; his instructions for a voyage to Masulipatam, 124; death of, 145.
Wills, Matthew, 103 *n.*, 186.
Wine, 32, 66, 83, 344; of Shirāz, 89, 107, 164.
Winterborne, Thomas, 140.
Wodder, Robert, 210, 236, 319; letters from, 236, 288, 319.
Woolhouse, Rev. John, 103, 114.
Woolley, Nicholas, 108, 210, 314.
Wuqiyyah, 355.
Wyche, Nathaniel, 211; letters from, 229, 231, 235, 238, 241, 242, 244, 245, 270, 273, 275; his salary, 314.
Wylde, Richard, 74 *n.*, 325; letters from, *passim*; sails for India, 24 *n.*; at Surat, 68, 129; his salary, 74 *n.*, 314; and private trade, 74, 79, 129, 139, 168, 286, 327; at consultations aboard ship, 96, 98, 101, 111, 287, 289, 300, 303; his answers to the auditor's criticisms, 213, 215; President at Surat (*q.v.*), xxviii, 277, 285, 299, 303; accusations against, xxxi, 304, 319–23; his return to England, 304.

Yaqūb Khān, Governor of Broach, 190, 191, 206, 230, 231, 249; trades with the English, 269.
Young, Robert, vi, viii, 56, 58, 61, 94, 111, 309; letters from, 32, 89, 127; sails for Persia, 111, 112; his private trade, 127; his return to England, xiii, 89, 94, 103, 123, 127.
Yūsuf Turkī, 3.

Zāhid, Hājī, 330.
Zakāt, 28 *n.*
Zamān Bahādur, Khān (Khanazād Khān *or* Mīrzā Amān-ullah), 204, 242; espouses the cause of Dāwar Bakhsh, 232, 233; in Shāh Jahān's service, 241.
Zamorin, the, 75 *n.*
Zeila, 213.
Zierikzee, the, 142–4.
Zodiacal coins, xxx, 241.
Zuid Holland, the, ix, 18, 24, 27 *n.*, 79; engaged in the encounters with the Portuguese, xi, 46–54; her armament, 50.

CORRIGENDUM.

On p. xxix, *l.* 30, *for* Shāh Jahān's *read* Jahāngīr's.

Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press by Horace Hart, M.A.